

PLAYING AT NATION: SOCCER INSTITUTIONS, RACIAL IDEOLOGY, AND  
NATIONAL INTEGRATION IN ARGENTINA, 1912-1931

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## ABSTRACT

JEFFREY RICHEY: *Playing at Nation: Soccer Institutions, Racial Ideology, and National Integration in Argentina, 1912-1931*  
(Under the direction of John C. Chasteen)

It is well documented that "in no other Latin American country has a single urban center so dominated national life" as in the case of Argentina and its capital, Buenos Aires.<sup>1</sup> The uneven distribution of political, cultural, and economic power between Buenos Aires and the so-called Interior has created a bifurcated nationhood that remains one of the central tensions in Argentine history and historiography. Departing from this paradigm of a bifurcated nationhood, two overarching questions guide this dissertation: how did exclusivist narratives of racial identity come to be accepted by a racially diverse national population? And second, why, in a multi-cultural and multi-ethnic country such as Argentina, did racial division come to feature heavily in discourses of national identity during a period in which other Latin American countries were emphasizing ideas of racial and cultural inclusiveness?

I answer these questions by examining the popularization of Argentine soccer between 1912 and 1931. Combining a cultural analysis of popular media with a concrete study of Argentine soccer institutions, I argue that during this period soccer became a key vehicle for Argentine politicians, intellectuals, and players to widely disseminate a

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<sup>1</sup> James Brennan and Ofelia Pianetto, "Introduction," in *Region and Nation: Politics, Economics, and Society in Twentieth-Century Argentina*, ed. James Brennan and Ofelia Pianetto (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000), viii.

version of cultural nationhood that excluded non-European elements of the national population. I argue that through soccer competitions, Buenos Aires became fixed in the national consciousness as modern and white vis-à-vis the "Interior," and vis-à-vis the rest of Latin America, which together became solidified in the Argentine consciousness as mixed-race and backward.

In the first decades of the twentieth century no other event or performance of the time transgressed so many regional boundaries and brought so many Argentines into contact—corporeal or imagined—with one another than soccer. It is through these initial encounters—physical and discursive—that foundational formulations of national identity were propagated by an influential sports press eager to project an image of a capital city that was modern, advanced, and, above all, white. At the same time, soccer also provided an important platform for Argentines from the "Interior" to formulate an influential, long-lasting alternative nationhood that validated non-European cultures in explicit contradiction to Buenos Aires—notions of regional identity still influential today.

To John  
for patience and support beyond measure

to LP  
for yanking me bodily back from the abyss

and most of all

to KFF  
for all of these things and for every day

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Graduate students on the cusp of the Ph.D. regularly speak of “debts incurred” along the way. I even heard someone claim, once, that such debts are “a joy” to accrue and to pay off in turn. For my part, *indebtedness* strikes me in this case as inadequate and even misleading, for it suggests an agreed-upon repayment, however deferred. No such arrangement could possibly serve to remunerate the guidance, friendship, longsuffering, and generous spirit of John Chasteen, my adviser at UNC and a superlative writer, translator, and teacher. Thank you, John, for believing me in my darkest hours.

At the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill I became a historian. Lou Pérez and Kathryn Burns accompanied me every step of the way, offering not just close readings and valuable suggestions for my work, but also serving as inspiring models for teaching at both undergraduate and graduate levels. A cadre of friends and colleagues from History and Latin American Studies offered indispensable critiques of my work along with general counsel, solidarity, and fellowship: Laura Premack, Josh Nadel, Jeff Erbig, Toby Nathan, Randy Browne, Mike Huner, Enver Casimir, Rosalie Genova, Pam Lach, Jonathan Risner, Bill Wisser, Bill Van Norman, Juan Carlos González Espitia, and Billy Acree figured prominently at different stages of my education. In a departmental setting, I am grateful to Lloyd Kramer, Cynthia Radding, John Sweet, Joy Jones, and Violet Anderson, all of whom offered career advice and navigated university bureaucracy on my behalf.

I availed myself of the opportunity to complete a significant portion of my class work at Duke. Over the course of graduate school John French proved a tireless source of support, offering insights, citations, and kindness in ample doses and at crucial moments. Laurent Dubois showed me extreme generosity, helping to frame my research questions and pushing me in new directions methodologically. This dissertation has also been shaped by professors Jocelyn Olcott and Jens Andermann, as well as those (former) Duke graduate students whom I am gratified to count among my lifelong friends: Max Krochmal, Liz Shesko, Mitch Fraas, Jacob Remes, and Bryan Pitts.

If UNC made me a historian, years earlier Brigham Young University made me a Latin Americanist. Jeff Shumway served as an exemplary mentor, introducing me to archival research in Argentina. His enthusiasm for the profession was contagious, and it propelled me to graduate school. Special thanks are due Kirk Hawkins and Mark Grover for formative research experiences in Venezuela and Brazil, providing some of the most exciting moments of my undergraduate years. Others at BYU, like Kendall Brown, Allen Christenson, Doug Weatherford, and Ignacio García helped me to cultivate a Latin American Studies intellectual base that continues to inform my teaching and writing.

As I began my research phase in 2009, several scholars of Argentina aided me in orienting my topical focus and methods. I am thankful for the input of Valeria Manzano, Rebecca Pite, Bea Gurwitz, Matt Karush, Natalia Milanesio, and, especially, Oscar Chamosa, in helping me make the connections between soccer and broader patterns in Argentine social and cultural history.

In Buenos Aires, giants of scholarship Mirta Lobato and Julio Frydenberg encouraged my project while directing me toward little-known archives and connecting

me with other scholars. Carlos Yametti, Jorge Gallego, and Osvaldo Gorgazzi at the Centro para la Investigación de la Historia del Fútbol made known invaluable period sources, while Sergio Lodise went out of his way to introduce me to the world of *Boquita* at both an archival and *hincha* level. I proffer a special note of appreciation to Perla Otalora, who gave me unfettered access to AFA's splendid library and archive. I will forever treasure the friendship and good company of Alicia Benítez, with whom my best memories of Buenos Aires, 2009-2010, are inextricably linked. And old friends from my earliest days in Argentina, Sergio Theules and Elsa Colman (y la Ceci), allowed me return to Laguna Paiva again and again. This work's successes are theirs, too.

In Santiago del Estero, all my paths began and ended at the home of the great Alberto Tasso. One would struggle to find a fuller and more generous scholar, writer, and human being. Through Alberto I met Ana Teresa Martínez and José Mussi at the Universidad Nacional de Santiago del Estero. They both freely shared of their vast knowledge of Argentine and *santiagueño* history, and their enthusiasm for my project was a boon. The Gómez family—Jorge Alberto, Antonia Carmen, and Mercedes—allowed me a precious glimpse into the intimate past of their respective father, uncle, and grandfather. For their part Antonio Virgilio and Julio César Castiglione regaled me with memories, photos, and historical documentation, as did Dr. Guido Freddiani. Local sports personalities Ricardo Nazer, Franklin Villalba, and Juan Manuel “Chura” Martínez introduced me to the Gómez and Castiglione families. And the wonderful Carolina Malanca at *El Liberal* and Jorge Rosenberg at Biblioteca 9 de Julio passed on some of the most unique sources for this dissertation.



I would also like to recognize the institutions that enabled my research and writing in the first place. At the heart of my material support was always UNC's Institute for the Study of the Americas, and at the heart of ISA are Beatriz Riefkohl Muñiz and Shelley Clarke. Thank you, Beatriz and Shelley, for opening so many doors. I am grateful for funding provided by the UNC History Department, the UNC Graduate School, the Tinker Foundation, the Center for Global Initiatives, the Federico Gil Foundation, the Mellon Foundation, and the Foreign Language and Area Studies Program of the United States Department of Education. The Pre-doctoral/Postdoctoral Fellowship in Latin American Studies at Lehigh University gave me the precious freedom to finish the dissertation under the most ideal of circumstances. At Lehigh Antonio Prieto, Matt Bush, Steve Cutcliffe, Bill Bulman, John Savage, Hugo Ceron-Anaya, Sandra Aguilar, Edurne Portela, Ricardo Viera, and Roger Simon offered friendship, commentary, and unflagging support in liberal amounts.

Nothing makes sense without my family. My parents David and Lucila introduced me to Latin America, through epic road trips to visit relatives in Mexico or through the everyday pleasures of the peerless Tenorio family cookbook. Their multifaceted support through every moment of my higher education has anchored me like nothing else could. The same can be said for my siblings Mike, Kate, Matt, and Laura, and for the magnificent Bernard Fuller. I am painfully aware, as a friend once put it, that a dissertation dedication is "cheap recompense" for your love, for your camaraderie, for a life's worth of joyful memories.

And Katharine. My biggest supporter, my greatest inspiration, mi gran amor.  
You and Julian gave greater meaning to the endeavor—the most important factor of all.  
You have been and are so many things to me. Sin vos esto no existe.

## PREFACE

It is often said among academics and writers that one does not choose one's topic or object of study. One, rather, is chosen. I identify with this sentiment, I suspect, more than most. I was chosen once by the Mormon Church, as a teenager and in a prior life, to preach their gospel to Argentines. It was during that two-year mission, spent among the various *villas miserias* of Rosario, Santa Fe, and Paraná, that I became aware of the issues to be explored here. Despite its best efforts, missionary work for me ultimately entailed not the systematic exportation of U.S. (Mormon) value systems to Argentines, but rather the wholesale importation of certain Argentine preoccupations to my psyche.

The years 2000 and 2001 were difficult for Argentina, all the more so for those materially precarious Argentines at whom foreign missionaries tend to focus their proselytizing. The painful unraveling of the Argentine economy during those years forcefully acquainted me with the major themes animating this dissertation: uneven development across regions, the Buenos Aires-Interior dichotomy as experienced by provincial Argentines, and the myth of a white Argentina. The experiences accumulated over those two years raised persistent questions along those lines—questions more complicated than my circumstances could possibly allow me to address. This dissertation represents an initial attempt to answer some of those questions.

Years later at BYU, soccer would strike me—as it has others—as a lens well-suited for shedding light on certain aspects of Argentine history. Yet, thinking back on it,

even during those missionary years soccer had been ever present. A particularly memorable exchange capped my first day in Argentina. In Villa Gobernador Gálvez, a gritty town adjoining Rosario, a young woman learned it was my first day in the country. Seizing my Mormon hymnal, she affixed a sticker on the inside cover with grave purposefulness. CARC, the blue and yellow letters read. Club Atlético Rosario Central. “You live in Rosario now and there’s one thing you have to learn,” she said, a companion translating her Rioplatense Spanish for my benefit. “In this city you’re either a [Rosario] Central fan or a Newell’s [Old Boys] fan. And *you* are a Central fan. Don’t forget it.” I never did.

Even as other scenes played out in front me—from epochal general strikes to enervating doctrinal disputes—soccer played in the background and, occasionally, in the foreground. The reveling that accompanied Rosario Central’s run to the 2001 Copa Libertadores semifinals, or the inter-class agitation that took hold of the streets of Santa Fe whenever Colón played Unión, exercised a paralyzing effect on missionary work, not to mention other aspects of local life. For this young evangelist Argentine soccer came to provide not just a means of diversion, but also a means of transcending the bounds of national cultures, helping to establish the foundations for life-long friendships. When my undergraduate investigations into Argentine history commenced in earnest, and I gained a sense of soccer’s historical role in the construction of Argentine identities and patriotisms, I could not hesitate. Graduate study and a particularly supportive adviser did the rest to send me on my way.

My academic inquiries have all been fueled by this particular mixture of scholarly inquisitiveness, experiential lessons, and personal sentiment. It has never been clear to

me which of the three predominates, though there is no doubt that the latter two engendered the former. While this fact may not make this dissertation the better—I am at this point more conscious of its shortcomings than at any other—it made it the more compelling to create. The success with which I did so I leave to the reader to decide.

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## INTRODUCTION

This dissertation explores the links between popular culture and the formation of the Latin American nation-state. It is guided by two questions: First, how do specific narratives of racial identity come to be accepted by a racially diverse national population? And second, why, in a multi-cultural and multi-ethnic country such as Argentina, did racial division come to dominate discourses of national identity during a period in which other Latin American countries were emphasizing ideas of racial and cultural inclusiveness?

I address these questions by examining the popularization of Argentine soccer over a twenty-year period. Combining a cultural analysis of popular media with a concrete study of Argentine soccer institutions, I argue that during this period soccer became a key vehicle for Argentine politicians, intellectuals, and players to widely disseminate a version of cultural nationhood that excluded non-European elements of the national population. My dissertation emphasizes the relationship between soccer and foundational notions of Argentine racial ideology. Dually focused on the Pampas region (and its capital, Buenos Aires) as well as on two provinces in the Argentine Northwest, this research emphasizes the contested nature of national identity, tracing this process of identity construction. It argues that through soccer competitions, Buenos Aires became fixed in the national consciousness as modern and white vis-à-vis the "Interior," and vis-à-vis the rest of Latin America, which together became solidified in the Argentine consciousness as mixed-race and backward. At the same time, soccer also provided an

important platform for Argentines from the "Interior" to formulate an influential, long-lasting alternative nationhood that validated non-European cultures in explicit contradiction to Buenos Aires— notions of regional identity that remain influential today.

Argentina's history as a European emigrant destination does in fact make it unique within a Latin American context. However, Argentina was and has always been substantively populated by people who are not of exclusively European descent. European immigration did indeed transform Argentina's large Pampas cities, but the West, Northwest, Northeast, and Southern regions did not experience comparable degrees of change, in either economic nor in demographic terms. Argentina outside of the central Pampas region remained *mestizo*, economically hindered, and at perpetual odds with Buenos Aires authorities over solutions for overcoming the systemic neglect of "provincial" Argentines by those same authorities.

The Argentina Northwest features prominently throughout this dissertation. Throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries intellectuals in the Argentine Northwest and their sympathizers in Buenos Aires saw the Northwest region as the ideal foil to Buenos Aires political designs, economic policies, cultural values, and racial ideologies. Regional identity in the Argentine Northwest did not simply reflect the declining economic and political status of the region within the nation but became a point of inflection in the development of Argentine national identity. The Northwest—the *santiagueños* of Santiago del Estero province in particular—came to represent a social, racial, and political "other" that was contrasted with the supposedly more civilized regions and populations of central Argentina. The Argentine Northwesterner thus became a symbol of regional backwardness and Argentina's mixed racial heritage while

the whiter and supposedly more progressive populations of the Pampas became a symbol of Argentine national identity and racial progress. In a closely related but seemingly paradoxical sense, the Northwest worked best as an essential component of Argentine national identity when it was absent entirely. Rather than weigh heavily on the Argentine national consciousness, as did Afro-Brazilians in Brazil, Argentines from the Northwestern provinces—particularly those of indigenous or mixed-race heritage (that is to say, the majority of population in the Northwest)—were simply excluded from expression of Argentine nationhood. And when it came time to laud the geographic breadth of the country, its natural resources, its varied landscapes and natural beauty, non-Pampas Argentines were generally omitted from the conversation. When the Argentine *people* were to be invoked, attention focused on the *rioplatenses*, the exponents of the new, Euro-descended race taking shape in the Pampas—the creators and guardians of national progress.

Placed within the broader context of transatlantic racial ideologies the allure of Euro-centricity—or of white supremacy—is not difficult explain. However, other questions remain: which specific processes allowed the idea of a *white Argentina* to become to be so widely accepted, both within and outside Argentina? What historical contingencies allowed this idea to be widely propagated and to gain traction—to the point where, today, a *white Argentina* is taken for granted? These are the driving lines of inquiry behind this dissertation—inquiries which have in large part gone unaddressed by scholars. I have sought answer to these questions in soccer, partly because, for reasons I will detail in this dissertation, it stood unparalleled among other popular cultural practices in modern Argentina.

Soccer emerged in the early twentieth century as a locus for commentary about Argentine racial identity. The preoccupation with the body inherent to sports can partly account for this, particularly in an era where discourses of nationalism, in Latin America and elsewhere, were bound up in the tenets of eugenics and scientific racism. However, the power of soccer to project racial identity effectively was also enhanced by its sheer ubiquity as a leisure activity and mass spectacle. By the middle of the 1910s national attention from all Argentine regions and classes, established soccer as a popular cultural activity without peer. The sprawling sports media that emerged to chronicle and interpret Argentine sports for a working-class public forms the basis for the historical analysis offered in this dissertation.

## Literature Review

Historical studies of Argentina are as bifurcated as Argentine nationhood. On one hand, region- or province-based research published locally has a rich tradition in many Argentine provinces,<sup>1</sup> and a recent surge of excellent English-language publications has furthered this vein of work, chronicling provincial experiences of national resonance or

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<sup>1</sup>See, for instance, Alberto Tasso, *Ferrocarril, quebracho y alfalfa: Un ciclo de agricultura capitalista en Santiago del Estero, 1870-1940* (Córdoba, Argentina: Alción Editora, 2007); Beatriz Ocampo, *La Nación Interior. Canal Feijóo, Di Lullo y los Hermanos Wagner: El discurso culturalista de en la provincia de Santiago del Estero* (Santiago del Estero: Editorial Antropofagia, 2004); and Armando Raúl Bazán, *La cultura del noroeste argentino* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Plus Ultra, 2000); Beatriz Inés Moreya, *Cuestión social y políticas sociales en la Argentina: La modernidad periférica, Córdoba, 1900-1930* (Bernal, Argentina: Universidad Nacional de Quilmes, 2009). Several useful dissertations of recent publication also contribute to Argentine regional history, including Rebecca Mason Stephanis, "From Resurrection to Recognition: Argentina's Misiones Province and the National Imaginary" (Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University, 2009); Carolyn Ryan, "El Alma del Norte: Northwestern Regionalism and Anthropology, 1900-1940" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2011); and Julius Reder Carlson, "The 'Chacarera Imaginary': 'Santiagueño' Folk Music and Folk Musicians in Argentina" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California-Los Angeles, 2011).

analyzing regional variations of country-wide phenomena.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, many purported "national" histories of Argentina dealing with a wide variety of subject matter conflate "Buenos Aires" with "Argentina." This dissertation, drawn from a year and half of research in more than 20 archives in Santiago del Estero, Tucumán, and Buenos Aires, provides a multi-sited, comparative study of nation formation that emphasizes the mutual construction and reinforcement of regional identities rather than analyzing regions in isolation or conflating national history with the history of the capital. Drawing from theorists like Homi Bhabha and Eric Hobsbawm, who highlight the crucial construct of the *other* in the process of identity formation,<sup>3</sup> this study reveals how in Argentina, the *other* lies not without, but within.

In attempting to understand Argentina's Buenos Aires-centric formulation of national identity as well as the mutual antagonism that characterizes the Buenos Aires-Interior binary,<sup>4</sup> I engage research on conflicts over representation in popular culture. In

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<sup>2</sup>Matthew Karush, *Workers or Citizens: Democracy and Identity in Rosario, Argentina (1912-1930)* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002); Oscar Chamosa, *The Argentine Folklore Movement: Sugar Elites, Criollo Workers, and the Politics of Cultural Nationalism, 1900-1955* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2010); and Mark Healey, *The Ruins of the New Argentina: Peronism and the Remaking of San Juan after the 1944 Earthquake* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011).

<sup>3</sup>Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London; New York: Routledge, 1994); and Eric Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

<sup>4</sup>Nicolas Shumway, *The Invention of Argentina* (Berkeley: University of California, 1991); José Carlos Chiaramonte, *Ciudades, provincias, estados: Orígenes de la nación Argentina (1800-1846)* (Buenos Aires: Espasa Calpe, 1997); and Alejandro Grimson, *Nación y diversidad: territorios, identidades y federalismo* (Buenos Aires: Edhasa, 2008). See also Mario Rapoport and Hernán Colombo, *Nación, región y provincia en Argentina: pensamiento político, económico y social* (Buenos Aires: Imago Mundo, 2007); Horacio Vázquez Rial, *Buenos Aires, 1880-1930: La capital de un imperio imaginario* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1996); Doris Sommer, *The Places of History: Regionalism Revisited in Latin America* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1996); José Nun and Alejandro Grimson, *Nación y diversidad: territorios, identidades y federalismo* (Buenos Aires: Edhasa, 2008); Alberto Rodolfo Lettieri, *La construcción de la república de la opinión: Buenos Aires frente al interior en la década de 1850* (Buenos Aires: Prometeo, 2006); and Marcello Carmagnani, ed. *Federalismos latinoamericanos: México/Brasil/Argentina* (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1993).

this dissertation I interrogate how meanings are encoded, disseminated, and received via various forms of print media, public gatherings, and the performative nature of soccer itself. I draw on the work of Tony Bennett as well as Bhabha and Hobsbawm to stress the variability of outcomes in state-sponsored settings:<sup>5</sup> although governments and private individuals provided an institutional sports framework in which desired narratives of nationhood could be performed and propagated, agents in the Argentine Northwest in particular combated these efforts at cultural hegemony with their own regionally derived articulations of nationhood. In this way, I use the work of scholars like Nicolas Shumway, Alejandro Grimson, and José Carlos Chiaramonte as a point of departure to raise new questions about the relationship between nation and region and the role of popular culture in producing mutually reinforcing notions of cultural and racial difference.

This study also seeks to expand newly opened paths in the field of the history of racial ideology and racism—an area of inquiry long absent from Argentine historical literature.<sup>6</sup> Argentina's contemporarily constructed "white" identity can only be

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<sup>5</sup>Tony Bennett, et al, ed, *Popular Culture and Social Relations* (Philadelphia: Open University Press, 1986).

<sup>6</sup>This is changed in recent years. Notable contributions include Emanuela Guano, "A Color for the Modern Nation: The Discourse on Class, Race, and Education in the Porteño Middle Class," *Journal of Latin American Anthropology* 8, no. 1 (2003): 148-171; José Luis Grosso, *Indios muertos, negros invisibles: Hegemonía, identidad y añoranza* (Córdoba, Argentina: Encuentro Grupo Editor, 2008); See also Chisu Teresa Ko, "Making Identities Visible and Invisible: The Uses of Race in Argentine National Identity" (Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 2009); Mario Marghulis and Marcelo Urresti, *La segregación negada : Cultura y discriminación social* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Biblos, 1999) ; Galen Joseph, "Taking Race Seriously: Whiteness in Argentina's National and Transnational Imaginary Identities" in *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power* 7:3 (2000): 333-371; and Enrique Garguin, "'Los argentinos descendemos de los barcos': The Racial Articulation of Middle Class Identity in Argentina (1920-1960) in *Latin American and Caribbean Ethnic Studies* 2:2, 161-184; Hugo E. Ratier, *El cabecita negra* (Buenos Aires: Centro Editor de América Latina, 1972); Carl Solberg, *Immigration and Nationalism: Argentina and Chile, 1890-1914* (Austin and London: University of Texas Press, 1970); Nancy Stepan, *The Hour of Eugenics: Race, Gender, and Nation in Latin America* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991); and Eduardo Zimmerman, "Racial Ideas and Social Reform: Argentina, 1890-1916," in *Hispanic American Historical Review* 72:1 (1993): 28-43.

understood by demonstrating how alternate configurations of nationhood were actively delegitimized and suppressed. Within a Latin American and global context, chronicling the development of a racially exclusivist Argentine national identity challenges general narratives of Latin American nation formation in which during the 1920s and 1930s racial inclusivity became the underlying concept of new Latin American nationalisms.<sup>7</sup> My research in an Argentine context demonstrates the contrary: Argentine racial ideologies had more in common with currents in North America and Europe than Latin American counterparts. With a firmer understanding of a consolidated Argentine racial identity emerging from soccer encounters during the 1910s and 1920s, the tremendous socio-cultural clash between mixed-race Peronist *provincials* and anti-Peronist porteños<sup>8</sup> of the 1940s and 1950s—in which an imagined national cultural and racial divide was already firmly in place—can be more fully explained.<sup>9</sup> The same can be said for the rise of the Argentine folklore movement of the 1930s and 1940s, which valorized *mestizo*, provincial cultures in specific contrast to cosmopolitan, Europeanized Buenos Aires, utilizing a regionally-derived racial and culture binary that was already firmly in place.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> See, for instance, Tace Hedrick, *Mestizo Modernism: Race, Nation, and Identity in Latin American Culture, 1900-1940* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2003); Nancy P. Appelbaum, et al, ed., *Race & Nation in Modern Latin America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003); and Estelle Tarica, *The Inner Life of Mestizo Nationalism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008).

<sup>8</sup> Literally, “of the port,” used in Argentina to refer to people or things from the littoral city of Buenos Aires.

<sup>9</sup> Daniel James, *Resistance and Integration: Peronism and the Argentine Working Class, 1946-1976* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1988); Matthew Karush, *Culture of Class: Radio and Cinema in the Making of a Divided Argentina, 1920-1946* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2012); Natalia Milanésio, “Peronists and *Cabecitas*: Stereotypes and Anxieties at the Peak of Social Change” in Matthew Karush and Oscar Chamosa, eds., *The New Cultural History of Peronism: Power and Identity in the mid-Twentieth-Century Argentina* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010).

<sup>10</sup> Chamosa, *The Argentine Folklore Movement*.



Emphasizing the role of soccer in the construction of Argentine national identity places my dissertation in dialogue with the growing field of sports studies and sports history—a field that intersects with cultural, political, and intellectual histories. This project also engages studies on popular culture, literature, mass media, race, and gender. Drawing on the work of sociologists Eduardo Archetti and J.A. Mangan, I emphasize the influence of the state in the cooptation of popular culture for the purposes of nation formation.<sup>11</sup> My work also draws on gender theory and history to understand how the Argentine sports press forged normative gender roles and a definition of Argentine-ness that precluded female intervention.

My dissertation builds upon European soccer scholarship that emphasizes sports as both a reflection of and a primer for geographically fractured nationhood, noting the prominence of racial ideologies in the same.<sup>12</sup> It is inspired by the work of Ben Carrington and Ian MacDonald, who argue that

Sport is a particularly useful sociological site for examining the changing context and content of...racisms, as it articulates the complex interplay of 'race', nation, culture and identity in very public and direct ways. In a sense, this is the greatest paradox about sport's relationship to racism. It is an arena where certain forms of racism, particularly cultural racisms, have been most effectively challenged. Yet, at the very same time, it has provided a platform for racist sentiments to be most clearly expressed, revealing how not only British sport, but British society itself, is still a long way off from being truly equal to all.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Eduardo Archetti, *Masculinities: Football, Polo, and the Tango in Argentina* (Oxford, U.K.: Berg, 1999); J.A. Mangan, *The Games Ethic and Imperialism: Aspects of the Diffusion of an Ideal* (Harmondsworth, New York: Viking, 1986).

<sup>12</sup> Liz Crolley and David Hand, *Football and European Identity: Historical Narratives through the Press* (London and New York: Routledge, 2006); Siegfried Gehrman, ed., *Football and Regional Identity in Europe* (Münster: Lit, 1997).

<sup>13</sup> Ben Carrington and Ian McDonald, "Introduction," in *'Race', Sport and British Society* (London and New York: Routledge, 2001), 2. John M. Hoberman, in his study *Darwin's Athletes*, offers a similar thought: "The world of sport [is] an image factory that disseminates and even intensifies our racial preoccupations."

In both Buenos Aires and the Interior, the sports press was the key vehicle through which Argentines encountered narratives of regional or racial differentiation. Fundamental to my dissertation is my claim that by 1920, sports-related media constituted the most widely-read Argentine print media of its day. Magazines, pamphlets, sports dailies, and the daily sports sections from popular newspapers thrived in an era during which radio was still embryonic. In Argentina and, indeed, Latin America, much has been written about other expressions of popular culture during this period, particularly in the genres of literature and theater, neither of which enjoyed the mass consumption of soccer.<sup>14</sup> Those scholars who have noted the preeminence of Argentine sports media in the early twentieth century focus on discourse at the expense of institutions, and limit their analyses to Buenos Aires.<sup>15</sup> A systematic study of truly national sports media, carefully contextualized in the historical moments of its production, makes this dissertation one of the first historical inquiries of sources that were more widely read than any others of the time.

Scholars have not widely credited sports newspapers as agents of cultural change or as major influences in defining Argentine national belonging and national identity during the 1920s. Argentine intellectual and cultural histories, in attempting to describe

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See Hoberman, *Darwin's Athletes: How Sport has Damaged Black America and Preserved the Myth of Race* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1997), xxii.

<sup>14</sup> Beatriz Sarlo, *El imperio de los sentimientos: Narraciones de circulación periodística en la Argentina, 1917-1927* (Buenos Aires: Grupo Editorial Norma, 2000); Pablo Sirvén, *Breve historia del espectáculo en la Argentina* (Buenos Aires: Editorial El Ateneo, 2010).

<sup>15</sup> Archetti, *Masculinidades*; Julio D. Frydenberg, "Los clubes de fútbol de Buenos Aires en los años veinte," in *Fútbol, historia y política*, ed. Julio Frydenberg and Rodrigo Daskal (Buenos Aires: Aurelia Rivera, 2010); Pablo Alabarces, *Fútbol y patria: el fútbol y las narrativas de la nación en la Argentina* (Buenos Aires: Prometeo Libros, 2002); Matthew Karush, "National Identity in the Sports Pages: Football and the Mass Media in 1920s Buenos Aires" in *The Americas* 60:1 (July 2003): 11-32.

and document formulations of racial identity during the first decades of the twentieth century, focus exclusively on aforementioned thinkers and politicians such as Leopoldo Lugones, José Gálvez, Ricardo Rojas, and José Enrique Rodó. While the influence of these thinkers cannot be understated, scholars of the Argentine intellectual history seldom make it clear whether, or even how, their ideas might have been conveyed to a broader Argentine public. One of the assertions of this dissertation, then, is that popular media such as sports newspapers and other print sources dealing with sports were crucial to disseminating elite ideas to a more general readership. In supporting its argument, then, this dissertation draws from an influential and largely untapped source base.

Academic treatments of Latin American soccer have generally emerged from sociologists and archaeologists. In the 1980s and 1990s the Argentine sociologist Eduardo Archetti and the Brazilian anthropologist Roberto da Matta produced, in stunning clarity, pioneering examinations of the connection between sports and national identity in Argentina and Brazil.<sup>16</sup> Archetti's work, for the first time, presented the popular Argentine sports press as a crucial cultural text for understanding the articulation and dissemination of different versions of national identity. The sociologist Pablo Alabarces followed closely in his footsteps, focusing on *criollista* discourse in the Argentine soccer as a means of Argentine-izing European immigrants.<sup>17</sup> Methodical historical treatments of the institutions and discourses of Argentine soccer arrived only recently with the creation of the Centro de Estudios del Deporte at the Universidad de

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<sup>16</sup> Archetti, *Masculinidades*; and Roberto da Matta, *Universo do futebol: Esporte e sociedade brasileira* (Rio de Janeiro: Edições Pinakotheke, 1982).

<sup>17</sup> Pablo Alabarces, *Fútbol y patria: El fútbol y las narrativas de la nación en la Argentina* (Buenos Aires: Prometeo Libros, 2002).

San Martín in Buenos Aires. Founded and directed today by historian Julio Frydenberg, the group's publications hew closely to a social history approach. Along with Frydenberg, young historians like César R. Torres, Rodrigo Daskal, Mariano Gruschetsky, and Daniel Sazbón have deftly analyzed the social significance of specific soccer institutions while also chronicling the deep connections between sports and political institutions.<sup>18</sup>

To limit, however, Argentine soccer historiography to peer-reviewed publications would tell only a fraction the story. Today, Argentine historical archives are visibly populated by amateur historians endeavoring to construct the definitive histories of their preferred clubs. Day in and day out the newspaper depositories at the Argentine national library, national archive, and congressional library are peppered with amateur researchers enthusiastically seeking score-lines, lineups, and arcane competition results. These historian-fans write of relatively modest clubs like Juventud Antoniana, Defensores de Belgrano, Chaco Forever, Excursionistas, Sportivo Almagro, and Club Atlético Mitre. Many of them are young and are part of the massive wave of youth seeking sports journalism degrees from one of at least a dozen sports-journalism academies in Buenos Aires.<sup>19</sup> Other, typically older participants are affiliated with the Buenos Aires-based Centro para la Investigación de la Historia del Fútbol (CIHF). Their finished projects,

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<sup>18</sup> See Frydenberg and Daskal, ed.; and Julio Frydenberg, *Historia social del fútbol del amateurismo a la profesionalización* (Buenos Aires: Siglo Veintiuno Editores, 2011); and César R. Torres, "If Only We Had Our Argentine Team Here!": Football and the 1924 Argentine Olympic Team," *Journal of Sport History* 30, no. 1 (2003): 1-24.

<sup>19</sup> Judging from the archival activity observed by this writer, original historical research into one's favorite team appears a *de rigueur* part of professional formation at porteño sports journalism academies. The proliferation of sports-writing academies in Buenos Aires had gained some international attention. One such report on U.S. National Public Radio suggested that Buenos Aires had more sports journalism academies than any other city in the world. See Juan Forero, "Sports Journalism is the Gooooaal at Argentine School," *Weekend Edition Saturday*, NPR, February 11, 2012.

sometimes printed out-of-pocket by the author or—in the best-case scenario—with the sponsorship of club officials, remain un-catalogued by the likes of WorldCat.<sup>20</sup> Even so, the briefest of perusals at the library at the Asociación del Fútbol Argentino (AFA) or its counterpart at the Círculo de Periodistas Deportivos in Buenos Aires confirms the existence of hundreds of amateur club histories written as a labor of love by club aficionados.<sup>21</sup> Professional historians seem to these regard amateur researchers with an

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<sup>20</sup> This is not to say that Argentina lacks professional-quality histories of soccer clubs written by journalists and published by prominent presses. In terms of quality such histories reached an early peak in the 1950s with the likes of Ernesto Escobar Bavio's renowned *Alumni: Escuela de campeones y escuela de hidalguía* (Buenos Aires: Difusión, 1953); and the epic, multivolume Eiffel histories directed by Héctor Chaponick. See Chaponick, ed., *Historia del fútbol argentino*, 3 vol. (Buenos Aires: Eiffel, 1955); Chaponick, ed., *Historia de Boca Juniors*, 2 vol. (Buenos Aires: Eiffel, 1956); and Chaponick, ed., *Historia de River Plate*, 2 vol. (Buenos Aires: Eiffel, 1958). Examples of more recent high-quality journalistic histories include: Alejandro Fabbri and Adrián Paenza, *El nacimiento de una pasión: historia de los clubes de fútbol* (Buenos Aires: Capital Intelectual, 2006); Cristian Grosso, *Por amor a la camiseta: historias de la selección y los mundiales* (Buenos Aires: Capital Intelectual, 2006); Walter Duer, et al, *Boca: El libro del Xentenario* (Buenos Aires: Planeta, 2004); Juan Carlos Morales, *Fútbol argentino: 80 años de profesionalización* (Buenos Aires: Corregidor, 2010); Martín Caparros, *Boquita* (Buenos Aires: Planeta, 2004); and Daniel Arcucci and Juan Sasturain, *La Argentina en los mundiales: Uruguay, 1930, Corea y Japón 2002* (Buenos Aires: Editorial El Ateneo, 2002). English-language journalistic publications about Argentine soccer tend to focus on specific players or episodes. See David Downing, *England v Argentina: World Cups and Other Small Wars* (London: Portrait, 2003); and Tony Mason, *Passion of the People? Football in South America* (London: Verso, 1998). Quality biographies also exist for Argentine players like Diego Maradona, Alfredo di Stefano, Osvaldo Ardiles, Ricardo Villa, Gabriel Batistuta, Carlos Tévez, and Lionel Messi. In addition, over the past a number of prominent Rioplatine writers have published literary works dealing with soccer as a subject matter: Roberto Fontanarrosa, Eduardo Galeano, Eduardo A. Sacheri, and Jorge Valdano have emerged notable figures within this genre. In the internet age amateur historical research, housed exclusively online, has proliferated. Though much online material appears recycled from the printed histories mentioned here, original documented research has appeared in a variety of online forums. In any case, the underlying value of these materials, as always, is their instantaneous availability afforded by the internet, particularly in the realm of statistics.

<sup>21</sup> The Centro para la Investigación de la Historia del Fútbol (CIHF) alone catalogues amateur histories for the following Argentine clubs, cities, and leagues listed immediately below. In brackets are the locations of the club in question; for the sake of simplicity clubs located in the greater Buenos Aires metropolitan area—strictly speaking, part of the Buenos Aires province rather than the Federal Capital—are noted as being located in “Buenos Aires.” When no location is specified, the history deals with the general history of soccer in the city, province, or region in question. As indicated by the publication dates provided, I have also included only relatively recent publications. For the sake of example, I have furthermore elected to include only one publication per club. A number of clubs are the subject of dozens of such histories published both before and after the specific examples provided here: Club Atlético Kimberley [Buenos Aires], 1996; Banfield [Buenos Aires], 1996; Club Atlético Acassuso [Buenos Aires], 1997; Sportivo Barracas [Buenos Aires], 1998; Crespo [Entre Ríos], 1998; Atlanta [Buenos Aires], 1998; Chacarita [Buenos Aires], 1999; Club Atlético Talleres [Buenos Aires], 1999; All Boys [Buenos Aires], 1999; Belén [Catamarca], 2000; Morón [Buenos Aires], 2000; Luján [Buenos Aires province], 2000; Lanús [Buenos Aires], 2000; Club Atlético Belgrano [Córdoba], 2001; Excursionistas [Buenos Aires], 2001; Rosario

air of dismissiveness or, at best, of bemusement. These fan-written histories can, of course, be problematic for historians, for any number of reasons. Fans by nature tend toward the hagiographical in their treatments of revered soccer clubs. Typically their work draws heavily from league and club statistics, foregrounding rosters and competitive results to the detriment of broader historical context. Some of these historical works are realized with scientific exactitude, yielding statistical and anecdotal pearls along the way. This dissertation owes a great deal to some such historians, named in my acknowledgements, whose lifelong connections to specific club or league archives allowed me access to materials irrecoverable by any other means. Particularly in the earliest sections of this dissertation I have striven to texture a broader historical narrative with the meaty minutiae beloved by amateur historians. As a like labor of love, in this dissertation I attempt to emulate these aspects of my Argentine colleagues' passionate telling of Argentine soccer history.

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Central [Rosario], 2001; Deportivo Laferrere [Buenos Aires], 2002; Club Atlético Temperley [Buenos Aires], 2002; Jorge Newbery [Junín, Buenos Aires province], 2003; Club Atlético Estudiantes [Buenos Aires], 2003; Huracán de Tres Arroyos [Tres Arroyos, Buenos Aires province], 2003; Catamarca, 2003; Rosario, 2003; Almirante Brown [Buenos Aires], 2003; Córdoba, 2003; Newell's Old Boys [Rosario], 2003; Boca Juniors [Buenos Aires], 2004; Quilmes [Mar del Plata], 2004; Tandil [Buenos Aires province], 2004; Everton [La Plata], 2004; San Lorenzo [Buenos Aires], 2004; Club Sporting de Punta Alta [Bahía Blanca, Buenos Aires province], 2005; Platense [Buenos Aires], 2005; Jorge Newbery [Salliqueló, Buenos Aires province], 2005; Club Atlético Central Goya [Goya, Corrientes], 2005; Independiente de Avellaneda [Buenos Aires], 2006; Central Córdoba [Rosario], 2006; Club Atlético Mar del Plata, 2006; Atlas [Buenos Aires], 2006; Sportivo de Almagro [Buenos Aires], 2006; Huracán [Buenos Aires], 2006; Mar del Plata, 2007; Sarmiento [Junín, Buenos Aires province], 2007; Estudiantes de La Plata, 2007; Deportivo Español [Buenos Aires], 2007; Tigre [Buenos Aires], 2007; Quilmes [Buenos Aires], 2007; Villa Dalmine [Campana, Buenos Aires province], 2007; San Lorenzo [Buenos Aires], 2007; Los Andes [Buenos Aires], 2007; Aldosivi [Mar del Plata], 2008; Defensores de Belgrano [Buenos Aires], 2008; Sportivo Italiano [Buenos Aires], 2009; Club Atlético El Cañón [Mar del Plata], 2009; Goya [Corrientes], 2009; Deportivo Merlo [Buenos Aires], 2010; Vélez Sarsfield [Buenos Aires], 2010; Nueva Chicago [Buenos Aires], 2011; Colegiales [Buenos Aires], 2011; Berisso [Buenos Aires province], 2011; Racing de Avellaneda [Buenos Aires], 2011.

## The Use of “Race” in the Sports Pages

While each individual affirmation of “Argentine” identity within the sports pages is inspired by essentialist impulses, it is important to note that there was no universal understanding of the term “race” in this source material. Formulations of race and Argentine-ness varied from newspaper to newspaper, from day to day, and even from columnist to columnist. As Eduardo Archetti writes in his exploration of Argentine football discourse throughout the twentieth century, such articulations of identity are positional and strategic.<sup>22</sup> Each formulation emerges from specific situations, contingent on variables such as the motivations or temperament of the writer, or the context of the subject at hand. As historian Eduardo Zimmerman notes, each iteration is a unique product of specific historical moments and cultural environments.<sup>23</sup> This study will emulate Zimmerman in allowing specific sources within the sports pages to assign their own meanings to “race,” while identifying and analyzing inter-textual patterns throughout the source base.

Even as this dissertation avoids employing itself or limiting its analysis to any exclusive signification of the word “race,” the ideological genealogy of racial discourse during this time period can be broadly characterized. It can also be mischaracterized. Scholar José Luis Abellán argues that use of the term *raza* in Spain and Hispanic America does not convey meanings rooted in positivism and scientific racism, which he says is most typical of the “Anglo-Saxon world.”<sup>24</sup> *Raza*, he contends, as it was

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<sup>22</sup> Archetti, 201.

<sup>23</sup> Eduardo Zimmerman, “Racial Ideas and Social Reform: Argentina, 1890-1916,” in *Hispanic American Historical Review* 72:1 (1993), 27-28.

<sup>24</sup> José Luis Abellán, “Una manifestación del modernismo: La acepción española de ‘raza’” in *Cuadernos Hispanoamericanos* 553-54 (July-August 1996), 204.

employed during the 1910s and 1920s in the Spanish-speaking world, was a reaction to positivism rather than derived from it. For Abellán, the term was employed in a sense that bore “no relation with any possible racist” connotations, differentiating itself markedly from the positivist “Anglo-Saxon understanding or “race.”<sup>25</sup>

Evidence from the Argentine sports pages directly contradicts Abellán’s thesis. To be certain, this essay embraces the idea that racial identities are negotiable and in a constant state of reconstitution. However, collectively the formulations of race in Argentine sports pages are surprisingly coherent, with broadly identifiable commonalities. They were strongly influenced by a rejection of Eurocentric positivism yet paradoxically rooted in the idioms and basic assumptions of positivism and scientific racism. While this study will not attempt to draw broad conclusions about how the term *raza* was employed or can be understood in the larger Spanish-speaking world, the way it appears to have been used in the Argentine sports pages of the 1920s and 1930s contradicts the fundamental distinctions Abellán asserts between Anglo- and Ibero-American racial concepts.

## **Organization of Chapters**

The first two chapters of this dissertation are of a kind. Together they attempt to ground historically the social and cultural history of early Argentine soccer as I tell it. Chapter one serves dual purposes. On one hand, the first half of the chapter provides crucial historical context necessary to understanding the ideological and discursive

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<sup>25</sup> Ibid.



tensions explored in chapters two through five. On the other hand, it highlights the popularization of soccer in Argentina, positing soccer as a key vehicle for debating and disseminating specific versions of national identity. Here I emphasize the consolidation of Argentine national identity in a racial (white) and cultural (European) sense. Noting Argentina's centuries-long discourses of Eurocentricity, it recounts how the economic explosion in the central Pampas region during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries allowed European immigration to redefine Argentine national identity. In the second half of chapter one I argue that due to its popularity and to the widespread influence of the Argentine sports press, soccer played a central role in the construction of Argentine racial identity in the early twentieth century. Accordingly, this chapter traces the popularization of soccer in both Buenos Aires and the Interior, both as a physical activity that transcended class and as a popular spectacle related to other forms of mass culture taking shape during this period. In a matter closely related, chapter one provides a synthetic narration regarding the explosion of mass media and communication technologies in the transatlantic world, a key to understanding the dissemination of these ideas and ideologies during this period.

While chapters three, four, and five focus on representation and discourse, chapter two deals mostly with institutions like clubs, leagues, and organized competitions. It also focuses on the establishment and governance of those institutions. This second chapter uses soccer to examine the interplay between region, race, and nation in the construction of Argentine national identity. On one hand, it highlights soccer as a locus of institutional strife between Argentine provinces and Buenos Aires. The inter-regional conflicts for institutional control of soccer reflected broader historical trends in which

provincial economic, political, and cultural interests clashed irremediably with porteño interests. I analyze institutional conflict in the soccer world (particularly over the control of the Argentine national team); player migrations from the provinces to Buenos Aires to the detriment of provincial soccer institutions; and on the eventual bankruptcy of provincial soccer as a result of porteño professionalization. This chapter also demonstrates how by defeating the provinces, as they did, porteño institutions secured the power to monopolize representations of Argentine-ness at home and abroad. Generally speaking Buenos Aires came to stand in for the nation, particularly in questions of race and modernity. In this way Europeanized Buenos Aires became synonymous with “Argentina” (though not without a struggle against traditionalists and *criollistas*, who saw the Interior as a bastion of traditional Hispanic values).

The third chapter continues along the same thematic lines as chapter two. It focuses on the Campeonato Argentino, an immensely popular inter-regional soccer tournament during the 1920s, to explore regionalism and competing versions of Argentine national identity. The Campeonato Argentino was designed to bring geographically distanced Argentines into contact with one another. However, the mass media used it the competition as an examination of quintessential “provincial” characteristics, reinforcing long-standing stereotypes and interregional grudges. At the same time, Argentines from other parts of the country used the competition to assert a formulation of Argentine identity intended to contrast favorably with Buenos Aires. In this chapter the discussion of these issues is anchored by my account of the remarkable success of the Santiago del Estero team during the heyday of the competition. To a degree the santiagueño success created a discussion of Northwestern culture that took

place simultaneously in Buenos Aires and in the Northwest, with the interlocutors reaching dramatically different conclusions about Argentine racial and cultural identity.

In chapter four I focus on a series of incidents in 1919 and 1920 in which the writings of a specific porteño sports journalist precipitated a diplomatic row between Argentines and Brazilians. This incident, I argue, was the cumulative expression of a prominent line of Argentine racial thought regarding Brazil, and as such it produced long-lasting effects. It ultimately served to canonize in both the Argentine and Brazilian national imaginaries long-held stereotypes toward their continental *other*. For Brazilians, the macaquitos affair served up superlative evidence of Argentine racism, while for Argentines it reinvigorated an old claim of Brazilian racial inferiority. This fourth chapter emphasizes the negation of, specifically, blackness in Argentine racial thought. It highlights the centrality of soccer in formulating this negation.

If chapters three and four evince a negation of the brown Interior as a constituent part of the national community, this dissertation's final chapter deals with the affirmation of national whiteness. This fifth and final chapter introduces the notion of white mestizaje, wherein sports journalists and other prominent interlocutors in the Argentine sports world employed the forms and idioms of mestizaje ideology while limiting their articulation of Argentine racial identity to an exclusively European, white heritage. On one hand, the influence of mestizaje ideology allowed these writers to exult in the "newness" and "youth" of the Argentine race, differentiating it from old, degenerate Europe. And on the other hand Argentine soccer players demonstrated to the world how Argentines constituted a mixture of exclusively European "races"—heterogeneous and of multiple origins, but heterogeneously European. Emphasized here is the fact that this

was a transnational formulation of race, one shared in this case with Uruguay. The accomplishments of Argentine and Uruguayan soccer teams on the field allowed the sports press in both countries to produce a triumphant consensus about their national destinies.

## CHAPTER ONE

### THE POPULARIZATION OF SOCCER IN ARGENTINA AND THE INTEGRATION OF THE ARGENTINE NATION-STATE, 1912-1931

With a crackle the radio came to life, interrupting an hour of silence. In the northwestern Argentine city of Santiago del Estero,<sup>1</sup> Antonio Castiglione sat up in his desk chair. It was close to midnight and he had been waiting all evening for this. He held his breath as faintly but clearly the signal came through from Buenos Aires. The radio announcer cleared his throat and delivered the station identification in a thick porteño<sup>2</sup> accent: “Ladies and gentlemen, Radio L.O.Y. Buenos Aires presents the promised special coverage of the event we’ve anticipated for weeks. The boys are back from Amsterdam! The boys who have given our country worldwide renown<sup>3</sup> are back

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<sup>1</sup> The city of Santiago del Estero serves as the capital of the province of the same name—a common arrangement occurring in other provinces such as Tucumán, Salta, Santa Fe, Córdoba, Corrientes, Formosa, La Rioja, Mendoza, Neuquén, San Juan, and San Luis. To avoid confusion, throughout this dissertation “Santiago del Estero” will refer to the capital city. References to the province of Santiago del Estero, or to other capital cities, will be clearly differentiated.

<sup>2</sup> Literally, “of the port,” used in Argentina to refer to people or things from the littoral city of Buenos Aires.

<sup>3</sup> The Argentine team had placed second in the tournament, losing the gold medal match to defending champions and arch-rivals Uruguay. The disappointment of the loss was mitigated by the general belief on the part of the Argentines that only Uruguay’s rough play combined with the indulgence of the referee was responsible for the loss. The Argentine press treated their silver medalist team as moral champions.

with us. The Argentines are back!” he cried, his pitch rising. “The Argentines are back!”<sup>4</sup>

The “Argentines” were the members of the national soccer team, returning from a five-month journey to Europe where they competed in the 1928 Olympic Games, the worldwide championship for men’s soccer at the time. Via telephone, Radio L.O.Y. patched in a live correspondent from the national soccer federation’s<sup>5</sup> headquarters in downtown Buenos Aires, the meeting point for the returning players, as well as for reporters and jubilant fans. The correspondent described the scenes of mayhem as thousands of porteños crowded the streets to catch a glimpse of the delegation. From Castiglione’s vantage point, sitting in his executive office at *El Liberal* newspaper in that small provincial capital some 650 miles northwest of the national capital, the radio succeeded largely in transmitting an incomprehensible din. Caravans of chartered buses and trucks packed with revelers snaked through downtown Buenos Aires, blowing horns and making merry. Draped in the national flag, as well as flags representing the players’ domestic club teams, the crowds hailed the players as heroes.

Eventually the correspondent was able to approach several players, including Santiago del Estero’s own Segundo Luna. “Greetings to those radio-listeners throughout the Republic,” said Luna. “I just want to say that we did everything we could [to win].”

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<sup>4</sup> Descriptions of this broadcast are based on Castiglione’s own published account in *El Liberal*, the most prestigious newspaper in that city—and a newspaper that he owned. Castiglione’s radio, located in his top-floor office in *El Liberal* in downtown Santiago del Estero, was doubtless one of the most powerful in the province; in the province only a privileged few would have had means hear the transmission live. The following day photographs and reports wired in from Buenos Aires combined with extensive local reporting to round out the region’s coverage of events. See “Por radio se conoció anoche el recibimiento de los olímpicos,” *El Liberal*, July 17, 1928, p. 5.

<sup>5</sup> The de facto governing body of Argentine football was known at the time as the Asociación Argentina Amateurs de Football.

As Luna extended special greetings to those listening in his home province—“in his usual serene, clear, and drowsy voice,” Castiglione would later recall—the newspaper man was overwhelmed with emotion.<sup>6</sup> Never had he felt so proud of his province. And never had he felt so profoundly, and passionately, Argentine.

On one level, Antonio Castiglione’s pride was unusual. The Argentine national team—so-called—could hardly be considered representative of the national population. Aside from the two *santiagueños*, all the members of the squad hailed from the Pampas region. And of those twenty, seventeen of them came from the national capital and surrounding areas.<sup>7</sup> No other regions or provinces were represented on the Argentine squad.<sup>8</sup> Yet Castiglione, along with Argentines in every corner of the country, effusively celebrated the feats of these “Argentine ambassadors,” these “representatives” of the Rioplatine race.<sup>9</sup> These celebrations were also extraordinary considering the conflictive history that saw the national capital and the Argentine Northwest at perpetual odds over political and economic policy. The Argentine Northwest, as I explore in chapter two of this dissertation, had largely been left out of Argentina’s national development program of the 1870-1930 period, which focused heavily on export agriculture in the central provinces. Its national resources depleted by unsustainable extraction, its largely rural

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<sup>6</sup> “Por radio se conoció...” *ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> Manuel Ferreira, a star forward for Estudiantes de la Plata and the national team, was born in Trenque Lauquen, a city in the far west of the Buenos Aires province, but played in La Plata beginning in the early 1920s. Luis Weismuller was born in Santa Fe province and raised in Córdoba, but had been playing for a Buenos Aires club, Sportivo Palermo, since 1926. This was his first and only appearance with the Argentine national team. And substitute goalkeeper Octavio Díaz came from Rosario where he played for Rosario Central. Díaz, the son of legendary goalkeeper Zenón Díaz,—Zenón was one of the first non-Anglo players to ever play for the nascent national team in the first years of the twentieth century—was well-known to porteño and national audiences due to his nation-wide tours with Rosario Central and to his performances with the national team throughout the 1920s.

<sup>8</sup> The multilayered reasons for this exclusion will be discussed in depth in chapters 2 and 3.

<sup>9</sup> *La Nación*, June 14, 1928, p. 5.

population impoverished, and its economic outlook dim, a centuries-long resentment toward the national capital continued to fester in provinces like Santiago del Estero.

In this light the national soccer team, headquartered in and drawn from Buenos Aires, could have been expected to face the fate of so many other porteño cultural expressions deemed *national* in the capital but ignored—when not disdained—by those outside the Pampas. But in the end—as this chapter puts forth as its central argument—organized soccer demonstrated a unique capability to transcend not just the physical distance, but also cultural differences (real and imagined) and political discord separating Argentine regions. In the process soccer became a ubiquitous expression of popular nationalism throughout Argentina.

This chapter chronicles the process through which organized soccer competitions in Argentina encouraged a sense of national unity throughout Argentina in the early twentieth century. The mid-sections of this chapter detail the introduction of the sport and its astonishingly rapid spread throughout the country. Within only a few years Argentines grew to adore soccer both as a physical leisure activity and a spectacle. Between 1916 and 1930 in particular enormous private and public expenditures helped institutionalize competition across regions. Club tours, congresses, and official inter-regional competitions served not only to increase the popularity of the sport, but to connect Argentines to one another, fostering feelings of national unity along the way.

In the latter sections of this chapter I demonstrate how new transportation and communication technologies quickly became crucial in disseminating this entwined love of soccer/love of country. In the 1910s and 1920s the Argentine rail network, Latin America's most extensive, whisked teams, officials, and fans to all cardinal points,



normalizing interregional competitive exchange. Even more instrumental than trains—in particular for those unable to travel—proved the Argentine news media. Increased coverage of sports, as occurred in other parts of the world during this period, coincided with and furthered the popularization of the Argentine press. The inscrutable, advertiser-driven, elitist dailies of the late nineteenth century gave way to the Anglo-American-style tabloid, where extensive sports-writing proved a high draw for working class readers. In an era in which radio technologies were still in an embryonic phase, sports fans rich and poor depended almost exclusively on print media for scores and analysis. Sales of newspapers and magazines soared; sports-heavy and sports-specific publications proliferated. Self-described “national” papers based in Buenos Aires—unapologetically porteño-centric in their content, concerns, and conclusions—nevertheless sold widely throughout the country, competing with regional press offerings. These increasingly sports-friendly national papers introduced provincial readers to porteño soccer stars, who in turn became household names from Corrientes to Cipoletti, reinforcing the sense of a nationally shared cultural experience.

The popular press disseminated not just scorelines, but also ideas. Papers like *Crítica*, *Última Hora*, and *El Mundo* offered commentators an opportunity to form a consensus about the fundamental characteristics of Argentine society and culture. The first section of this chapter reviews the growing consensus about Argentine national identity that provided the discursive framework within the national sports press operated. And although sportswriters would offer conflicting viewpoints about national belonging and racial identity, the general consensus prevailed time and time again: Argentina was a white country, newly mixed, made up of constituent European elements. This

dissertation will return to this point throughout its duration, for it was to become the cornerstone of modern Argentine identity. Through the popular press soccer would play a key role in disseminating it.

### **Development, Demographics, and National Identity in the Pampas**

Since its birth as an independent nation-state early in the nineteenth century, Argentina's most eminent statesmen and intellectuals have troubled over its demographic composition. These debates over who could be considered Argentine—and, more importantly, who *should* be—extended well beyond the realm of ideology and discourse. Indeed, the engineering of the Argentine populace was seen to be at the heart of governance: “To govern is to populate,” one of Argentina's most famous thinkers famously declared.<sup>10</sup> In the mid-nineteenth century debates about Argentine racial identity intensified as thinkers sought a solution to what they considered Argentina's racial problem. Argentina, observers worried, suffered the same malady as other Latin American countries: a surfeit of non-white elements in the national population.<sup>11</sup> In accordance with the increasingly influential transatlantic racism of the time, this could doom entire countries to economic stagnation, political turmoil, and cultural barbarism.<sup>12</sup> Illustrious statesman and eventual president Domingo Faustino Sarmiento took measure of the situation a few decades after the country's 1810 independence from Spain.

Referring to both the Argentine and the broader Latin American population, he wrote:

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<sup>10</sup>Juan Bautista Alberdi, *Bases y puntos para la organización política de la República Argentina*, ed. Jorge M. Mayer [1852] (Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudamericana, 1969), 250.

<sup>11</sup> In this case of Argentine, non-white populations will be discussed in chapter two. This chapter will focus on European immigration as an antidote to Argentine non-whiteness.

<sup>12</sup>One of the most skillful analyses of this emerging Eurocentric racial and cultural consensus appears in Nicolas Shumway's *The Invention of Argentina* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991).

The fusion of these three families [Iberian, mestizo, and indigenous] has resulted in a homogenous whole, distinguished by love of idleness and incapacity for industry, except when education and the exigencies of a social position put the spurs to it and pull it out of its customary pace. The incorporation of indigenous races caused by colonization has contributed much to produce this unfortunate result. The American aborigines live in idleness, and demonstrate incapacity, even when forced, to apply themselves to hard, uninterrupted work. This prompted the idea of bringing blacks to America, which has produced such fatal results.<sup>13</sup>

The only way to improve Argentina's inferior, largely nonwhite population, agreed Sarmiento and his contemporaries, was to populate it with immigrants from Europe. Such a measure would ensure that only "capable races" would carry out the "civilizing" economic and cultural activities deemed central to the progress of the Argentine nation. A substantial influx of Europeans would, moreover, help whiten Argentina's population, diluting its "idle and incapable" indigenous, African, and mestizo racial elements. Agreed eminent statesman Juan Bautista Alberdi: "Each European who comes to our shores brings more civilization in his habits, which will be passed on to our inhabitants, than many books of philosophy...Do we want to sow and cultivate...the diligence of men from Europe and the United States? Let us bring living pieces of these qualities...and let us plant them here."<sup>14</sup>

A glance at the numbers suggests that Sarmiento and Alberdi were successful beyond their wildest dreams. Statistics compiled by historian José Moya report that of the 56 million Europeans who emigrated overseas between 1820 and 1932, 6.5 million of them (11.6%) came to Argentina, the second-highest total for any country in the world

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<sup>13</sup>Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, *Facundo: Civilization and Barbarism: The First Complete English Translation*, trans. Kathleen Ross (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 53.

<sup>14</sup>Alberdi, *Bases y puntos*, *ibid.*

except the United States.<sup>15</sup> In any attempt to explain the arrival of 6.5 million Europeans to Argentine shores during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, discussions of immigration policy and racial ideology go only so far. As Moya observes, many Latin American countries attempted to attract immigration from Europe with vigor equal to or greater than the Argentines—but with less success.<sup>16</sup> Climate, Argentine political stability during the 1860-1930 period, and, especially, macro-economic factors allowed Argentina to “succeed” where, in this regard, other countries failed.

Substantial immigration to Argentina commenced around 1860. In the fifty years that followed, Argentina seemed to undergo profound transformation. The central Argentine provinces known as the Pampas in particular appeared nearly unrecognizable compared with mere decades earlier. Indeed, by 1910, the year of Argentina’s grandly celebrated centennial of independence from Spain, central Argentina had cemented its position as the economic, demographic, political, and cultural heart of the country. Demographically, this process had to do not just with gross population increase, but also with the Pampas’ new and outsized share of the national population. The demographic explosion in the Pampas via European immigration was in turn linked to the emergence of certain agricultural products as valuable international commodities.<sup>17</sup> New methods of freezing beef for transport overseas meant that Argentina had found the primary-goods niche it needed for insertion into the increasingly globalized economy. Foreseeing the

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<sup>15</sup>The United States received some 32.5 million immigrants from Europe, nearly 60% of that total. For the sake of comparison, 9% of those immigrants ended up in Canada, 7.8% in Brazil, and 6% in Australia. See José C. Moya, *Cousins and Strangers: Spanish Immigrants in Buenos Aires, 1850-1930* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 46-47.

<sup>16</sup>Moya, 50-51.

<sup>17</sup>Some 90% of all Argentine exports during the 1860-1930 period were, reports David Rock, “farm goods from the pampas region.” See David Rock, *Argentina, 1516-1987: From Spanish Colonization to Alfonsín* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 168-169.

potential for profit and well aware of the singularly advantageous conditions Argentina offered for the raising of cattle—questions of space, climate, and topography—British investors poured money into “the Argentine.” The British were in large part responsible for the capital necessary for processing fresh Argentine meat and preserving it for long-distances.<sup>18</sup> These financiers focused almost exclusively on the communication and transportation infrastructure necessary for the extraction of raw goods via Argentina’s railways and, in turn, its fluvial and maritime ports. In mere decades the British financed Latin America’s most extensive railway system, one fanning from Buenos Aires outward toward the central, cattle-raising Pampas.

Argentina’s meat-centered transportation infrastructure proved useful for the development of other economic opportunities, among which the export of grain—principally wheat—proved predominant. The mass export of wheat took off in the last quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, facilitated—as in the case of meat—by new storage and transportation technologies that guaranteed the preservation of the grain for transatlantic transport. Like the business of chilled beef, Argentina’s grain country was centered in the central farmlands—the vast Buenos Aires province,<sup>19</sup> the southern half of Santa Fe

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<sup>18</sup>French and German capitalists also played an important role, investing substantially in specific Argentine industries. However, as David Rock reports, “in 1913 more than 60 percent of foreign investment in Argentina was British.” See *ibid*, 168. In the 1920s, however, in the wake of Great Britain’s post-World War I economic decline, the United States gained steady economic influence in Latin America, including Argentina. See Juan Manuel Palacio, “La antesala de lo peor: La economía argentina entre 1914 y 1930,” in *Nueva historia argentina: Democracia, conflicto social y renovación de ideas (1916-1930)*, vol. 6, ed. Ricardo Falcón (Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudamericana, 2000), 111-115; 137-138.

<sup>19</sup>The province of Buenos Aires, Argentina’s largest in terms of population and territory, surrounds its eponymous national capital on three sides. The city of Buenos Aires served as the capital of the Buenos Aires province until the federalization of the port city in 1880. At that time, in order to separate provincial governance from national governance, officials established the engineered city of La Plata 30 miles to the south of Buenos Aires.

Confusingly, the greater Buenos Aires metropolitan area is technically located in the *province* of Buenos Aires, spilling beyond the official borders of the federal capital. Nonetheless, during the 1910s and 1920s this greater Buenos Aires area was part of the federal capital in nearly every way. Broadly conceived

province, and southeastern Córdoba province. In the late nineteenth century the grain business transformed the sleepy river town of Rosario—located some 200 miles upriver from Buenos Aires—into Argentina’s “second city.” Overtaking other older urban centers in terms of population and wealth, Rosario became a thriving urban center and the principal loading point for Argentine grain bound downriver for the Río de la Plata estuary and, ultimately, Europe.<sup>20</sup> Other export-oriented commodities benefited from and furthered the expansion of Argentina’s transportation infrastructure. Alfalfa, linseed, and corn in the Pampas; sugar in the northwest; cotton and hardwood in the Chaco region; wool in Patagonia; and fruit—subtropical in the northeast and temperate in south—all helped push the railroad into all corners of the Argentine nation-state.

The immense profitability of Argentine exports enticed the millions of European immigrants mentioned earlier, ballooning the country’s population. Accordingly, this

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distinctions in terms of class and politics did exist between well-heeled *porteños* and the working-class *bonaerenses* (residents of Buenos Aires province) of the greater metropolitan area. Nonetheless, most of these quasi-porteño *bonaerenses* worked and played in Buenos Aires proper, and were an integral part of its economic and social structure. The presumed divide between *Capital Federal* and greater Buenos Aires was further blurred by the number of working-class neighborhoods located in the federal capital—La Boca and San Telmo are prominent examples—and the number of affluent municipalities in the greater metropolitan area, such as Quilmes or San Isidro. For these reasons, and for the purposes of this dissertation, I will not differentiate between the federal capital and greater Buenos Aires. The residents of those municipalities adjoining the federal capital—Avellaneda, Berisso, Lanús, et al—will, unless otherwise noted, all be implicated in my formulations of the terms “Buenos Aires” and *porteño*. Those familiar with contemporary Buenos Aires will note that today, greater Buenos Aires—commonly referred to as the *conurbano*—has come to be associated with the working-class, largely mestizo migrants from the Argentine Northwest that began arriving there en masse in the late 1930s. The political, socio-cultural, and racial differentiation between the Capital and *conurbano* gained particular traction during the Peronist years of the 1940s and 1950s. Adding to the perceived non-whiteness and even non-Argentineness of the *conurbano* in the present day is the steadily increasing stream of immigrants arriving there from neighboring countries, especially Bolivia, Paraguay, and Peru.

<sup>20</sup>Noteworthy river ports (along the Paraná and Uruguay rivers) were also constructed in the cities of Santa Fe, Paraná, San Nicolás, Corrientes, and Concordia during this period, though none of them came close to Rosario’s in terms of size or influence. On the Atlantic coast only Bahía Blanca competed with Buenos Aires as a port for oceanic shipping. Just the same, goods destined for or coming from Bahía Blanca required a stopover in Buenos Aires for taxation or customs.

profitable export cycle coincided with the great 1870-1930 transatlantic migratory movement.<sup>21</sup> Those in search material betterment generally found it upon arrival in the Argentine. Many sought to work the land as agricultural “colonists” funded by the Argentine government, paying back government loans with the proceeds from small farms. Many others ended up peons or tenants on larger haciendas. Millions of those originally seeking a country life never made it past the Pampas’ big cities. Hundreds of thousands of others settled in the scores of small and medium-sized cities dotting the provinces of Buenos Aires, Santa Fe, Entre Ríos, and Córdoba. Most were Italian and Spanish, though considerable numbers of French, German, Eastern European, and Middle Eastern immigrants arrived as well.

They inserted themselves into the Argentine economy at every level of labor and management. The jobs on offer were, of course, largely organized around the prodigious export economy that had drawn them there. Meatpacking plants, the railroad industry, and dock works employed many, as did the “light industry” dedicated to the manufacturing of consumer articles like foodstuffs, tools, hats, and furniture.<sup>22</sup> Those

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<sup>21</sup>In his definitive study of Spanish immigrants in Buenos Aires, Jose C. Moya argues that the “pull factor” of the booming Argentine economy has been overemphasized by researchers as an explanation for sustained immigration throughout the whole 1880-1930 period. Moya proposes a larger “demographic-ecological phenomenon” to explain why European immigration to Argentina maintained relatively constant rates of ingress even through significant fluctuations in the Argentine economy throughout the period in question. He rightly points to other factors weighing on the specific agency of emigrants in their decision to come to Argentina: the racial-demographic politics of Argentine leaders as well as the micro-networks of emigrants from specific regions bound for specific Argentine cities receive much of his attention. While Moya’s attempt to de-emphasize “macrostructural trends” in favor of human agency is worthwhile, it must be said that his alternative explanations, detailed above, can themselves develop in response to broader economic phenomena. See Moya, 45-61.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid, 55-56. Argentina’s focus on agricultural exports did not preclude the development of light industry during the boom 1870-1914 period. Indeed, as Barbero and Rocchi point out, the Pampas region underwent some industrial development beginning in the 1870s. While these industries were at the time Latin America’s most extensive, by Barbero and Rocchi’s account, local manufacturing was “fragile,” as “selective as it was limited” (269). Ultimately, it was the proceeds of exports that allowed investments in local manufacturing to take place. See María Inés Barbero and Fernando Rocchi, *New Economic History of Argentina* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

many immigrants who secured white-collar work—as bankers, businessmen, and traders—found their professions, too, utterly dependent on the international demand for meat and grain. This is what connected the livelihood of the Galician housekeeper, the Genoese street sweeper, and the Lebanese salesman to that of their employers. The fortunes of the working- and professional-class immigrants were just as bound to the ebb-and-flow of international commodities as were the conquistador-descended landed elite. So it was that in the Pampas immigrants came to occupy nearly every stratum of the socio-economic structure. They dwelled in earthen shelters on windswept homesteads, in teeming Babelic tenements in the big cities, and in charming two-story homes in the leafy suburbs. They were the peasants and the merchants, the university students and the waiters, the domestic servants and the nouveau riche.

The continued, considerable arrival of Europeans into the 1920s kept central Argentina culturally close to Europe. Foreign newspapers and periodicals abounded in the cities. Immigrant communities from Italy, Spain, France, Armenia, England, Ireland, and dozens of other countries published numerous daily papers intended to guide their co-nationals through life in Argentina; many of these publications lasted well into the twentieth century. Europe and Argentina also remained connected via the trans-oceanic print culture, along with the popular literature, music, and cinema that circulated across oceans. There is little doubt that many Argentines perceived themselves as quasi- or co-European participants in a broader transatlantic exchange with the Old World.

Central Argentina thus became inflected with Europe on levels transcending demography and economics. Politically, socially, and culturally the Pampas were interwoven with pieces of the Old World. Specific foods, literary trends, musical genres,



and spoken idioms expanded beyond immigrant communities to be integrated into broader Argentine society. A host of practices and artifacts showcased this Argentine-ization of Europe, this Europeanization of Argentina: the spoken porteño accent, rich with Italian vocabulary and intonation; the French coffeehouse culture that thrived in well-heeled neighborhoods; and the anarchic and socialist militancy brought over wholesale by southern Europeans. All these reflected the Europeanizing influence of specific immigrant communities and the diffusion of those practices to the wider national culture.

By the first decade of the twentieth century a consensus had emerged among many porteño observers of all social standings and political stripes: transformed by European immigration, Argentina had become a homogenously white nation. Although the rest of the country did not experience the demographic, social, and political changes that so gratified the residents of the Pampas region—a profound disparity I discuss in chapter two—it did not stop contemporaries from hailing a *national* transformation in racial terms. The Pampas did, after all, account for nearly 75% of the national population as reported by the 1914 census.<sup>23</sup> To present the Pampas region and its capital, Buenos Aires, as wholly representative of the nation seemed a logical exercise, though it was also a willful exercise, and one that came easily.

The material progress of Buenos Aires was a source of intense pride for its residents and of veneration for visitors. This sentiment was partly explained by a simple matter of quantity: with a 1914 population of 1.5 million, Buenos Aires could lay claim

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<sup>23</sup>Alfredo E. Lattes, “Esplendor y ocaso de las migraciones internas,” in *Población y bienestar en la Argentina del primero al segundo Centenario: Una historia social del siglo XX*, vol. 2, edited by Susana Torrado (Buenos Aires: Edhasa, 2007), 15.

to being the second-largest city on the Atlantic seaboard after New York.<sup>24</sup> And the hordes of curious reporters, travelers, and writers who descended on Buenos Aires in the early decades of the twentieth century proved wholly impressed by what they found. Contemporary accounts by these foreigners attest to the generally held belief that by 1910 Buenos Aires had definitively entered into the company of the world's great cities. Mexican intellectual José Vasconcelos enthused over Buenos Aires' transformation into "the center of Ibero-American intellectualism." Buenos Aires, he wrote, "is our Paris, the capital of our America."<sup>25</sup> Other travel writers concurred, deeming it, alternately, "the chief metropolis of Latin America,"<sup>26</sup> "one of the world's chief capitals,"<sup>27</sup> "the second Latin city in the world,"<sup>28</sup> "surpassed only by Paris, and destined to take first place among Latin cities."<sup>29</sup> One analyst concluded his "survey of the River Plate Republics" by proclaiming Buenos Aires "the cultural capital of South America, if not of all Latin

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<sup>24</sup> In 1914 Buenos Aires was the third-most populous city in the New World behind New York and Chicago. The 1914 populations of other New World cities (some of which would subsequently surpass Buenos Aires in this regard) were as follows: Rio de Janeiro, 1.3 million; Mexico City, 500,000; São Paulo, 400,000; Havana, 350,000; and Montevideo, 300,000. However, during the same period Mexico had a much larger national population than Argentina (15 million versus 8 million), not to mention Brazil (25 million). That Buenos Aires remained Latin America's largest city in the face of such numbers attests to its outsized growth vis-à-vis the broader Argentine population—a phenomenon to be explored further in chapter two.

<sup>25</sup> José Vasconcelos, *Raza cósmica: Misión de la raza iberoamericana. Argentina y Brasil*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Madrid: Agencia Mundial de Librería, 1925; Mexico City: Espasa-Calpe, 1948), 210. Citations are to the Espasa-Calpe edition. The connections between Vasconcelian and Argentine racial thought will be analyzed in subsequent chapters.

<sup>26</sup> James E. Warshaw, *The New Latin America* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1922), 23.

<sup>27</sup> W.H. Koebel, *Modern Argentina: The El Dorado of To-Day. With Notes on Uruguay and Chile* (Boston: Dana Estes & Company, 1912), 37.

<sup>28</sup> William Alfred Hirst, *Argentina* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1912), 139.

<sup>29</sup> W.E. Browning, *The River Plate Republics: A Survey of the Religious, Economic, and Social Conditions in Argentina, Paraguay, and Uruguay* (London & New York: World Dominion Press, 1928), 19.

America. . . . As Buenos Aires goes, as Argentina goes, economically, intellectually, spiritually, so will all Latin America go.”<sup>30</sup>

Size mattered, but it took more than a large population and a profitable economy to evoke such praise. Those arriving in Buenos Aires—the obligatory first stop for anyone visiting from overseas—expressed wonder not just at the material splendor of the city, but also at its manifestly white population. The Spanish novelist Vicente Blasco Ibáñez, in a memorable passage of his 1910 book *Argentina y sus grandezas*, reproduced what for him was the typical reaction of a foreigner visiting the Argentine capital for the first time. “Observing the [Argentine] crowds conglomerated in the Plaza de May, first with curiosity, and then with astonishment, [the visitor exclaims:] ‘They’re all white!’ Everyone who arrives in Argentina from the Old World, no matter how well-read they are about the institutions, races, and customs of the [Argentine] Republic, experiences a similar shock. . . . ‘They’re all white!’”<sup>31</sup> Like many others, Blasco Ibáñez used his impressions of the capital to extrapolate a general profile of the country. Another influential writer, Francisco García Calderón Rey of Peru, provided similar generalizations in the English translation of his 1913 book *Latin America: Its Rise and Progress*. As one of the few English-language works written about Latin America by a

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<sup>30</sup>Ibid., 138-139.

<sup>31</sup>Vicente Blasco Ibáñez, *Argentina y sus grandezas*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., (Valencia, Spain: Prometeo, 1910), 74. Blasco Ibáñez dissertated for some length on the topic, expressing his frustration at the general lack of knowledge in Europe regarding Argentina’s racial exceptionalism: “In Europe they almost always refer to the Americas as a single unit, without distinguishing between nationalities. At best they differentiate between North and South America. And South America always evokes the same images: banana groves with parrots and tropical birds flapping overhead; temperatures as hot as an oven; hammocks slung between palm trees. . . . And black people, lots of black people! Europeans are incapable of imagining South America without the black man. . . . Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay are the three South American countries where evidence of the black man’s historical passage through those countries is difficult to find. The ethnic superiority of the inhabitants, aided by climatological conditions, has repelled the African invasion that has been to noxious for other countries.” Ibid, 75-76.

Latin American, García Calderón Rey's book became a reference point for students of the region. His chapter titled "The Problem of Race" provided a lengthy account of Latin America's predominant, non-white populations—"the key to [understanding Latin American's] incurable disorder" of economic underdevelopment and political instability.<sup>32</sup> In studying Latin American culture, he continued, "one may determine a necessary relation between the numerical proportion of negroes and the intensity of civilization. Wealth increases and internal order is greatest in the Argentine . . . [where] the proportion of negroes has always been so low they have disappeared in the admixture of European races."<sup>33</sup> García Calderón Rey's in-depth descriptions caught the attention of influential U.S. white supremacists Madison Grant and Lothrop Stoddard, both of whom, citing the Peruvian's book, declared "southern South America, especially Argentina and Uruguay, [to be] genuine white man's country in which there is little Indian and no negro blood. . . . thus [fix]ing antipodean America securely to the white world."<sup>34</sup>

Innumerable other accounts by travelers and intellectuals visiting Buenos Aires drew similar conclusions, issuing them with tones ranging from surprise to relief.<sup>35</sup> Not

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<sup>32</sup>Francisco García Calderón Rey, *Latin America: Its Rise and Progress*, trans. Bernard Miall (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1913), 350.

<sup>33</sup>*Ibid.*, 358.

<sup>34</sup>Lothrop Stoddard, *The Rising Tide of Color against White World Supremacy* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1920), 105-114. See also Madison Grant, *The Passing of the Great Race, or the Racial Basis of European History* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1916), 1916. Stoddard cited both García Calderón Rey and Grant in his conclusions about Argentine racial exceptionalism.

<sup>35</sup> See, for instance, L. E. Elliott, *The Argentina of Today* (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1926), 42; Alberto B. Martínez, *Baedeker of the Argentina Republic*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed. (Barcelona: Baedeker, 1914), 56-57; Georges Clemenceau, *South America To-day: A Study of Conditions, Social, Political, and Commercial in Argentina, Uruguay and Brazil* (London: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1911), 145-148, 334; Arthur Ruhl, "The City of Good Airs: Being Impressions of Buenos Aires," *Scribner's Magazine* 43 (January-June 1908):

even the redoubtable Teddy Roosevelt, during his South America tour of 1913-1914, could ignore the Argentine people's "striking likeness to the people of the United States . . . due partly to similarity in institutions, partly to similarity in physical environment, partly because in each country the people are drawn from the most energetic and self-reliant members of various European states. . . . There is an Argentine type, a type . . . with an energy and a power of practical achievement which we are more apt to associate with the Northern races."<sup>36</sup> It took a population that was wholly white to earn Argentina an acknowledged place in the vanguard of Western civilization,<sup>37</sup> and that is precisely what European immigration had appeared to accomplish. To govern was to populate, and to populate *well*, it seemed, was to govern well.

To populate *best*, Argentine officials agreed, was to populate with Britons. The British immigrant represented the brightest, whitest star in the Euro-descended Argentine firmament. The some 30,000 Britons who had settled in Argentina by 1910 were socially and culturally a case apart. As was the case in many countries throughout the world at this time, they had arrived in Argentina not as paupers or yeomen, but as skilled workers, financiers, investors, operators, managers, and overseers, eager to participate in the Argentine export boom. Oftentimes they came affiliated with specific British companies, though many arrived alone in the simple certainty that their abilities were in demand. Together they established the largest British community outside the British Empire.

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565; William Belmont Parker, *Casual Letters from South America* (New York: Hispanic Society of America, 1921), 416;

<sup>36</sup>Theodore Roosevelt, "Buenos Aires: A Fine Modern Capital," *Outlook*, April 4, 1914.

<sup>37</sup>One recently naturalized Argentine wrote that "Buenos Aires is the most genuine expression of modernity since its population is made up of citizens who have come from every corner of the civilized world"—i.e., white Europe. See Angel P. Bonetti, *De la República Argentina y sus detractores* (Buenos Aires: Casa Editorial de El Imparcial, 1910), 134.

These Anglo expatriates and their somewhat more Argentine-ized children established British-inflected neighborhoods in major Pampas cities: Buenos Aires (Hurlingham), Rosario (Fisherton), and La Plata (City Bell). During this period, the zenith of British imperialism abroad, the Anglo-Argentine community enjoyed immense prestige and influence. It was they who initially spread soccer throughout Argentina.

### **Soccer as a Tool for National Integration: Four Parallel Paths**

Coinciding with the apogee of British imperialist influence worldwide, Anglo expatriates exported soccer simultaneously to countries as far-flung as the Costa Rica, Japan, and Sweden. In Argentina, as elsewhere, the initial dissemination of soccer—the first step in its crucial transition from the hobby of British expatriates to the most popular game in Argentina irrespective of region or class—owed everything to the cultural dynamics of Anglo imperialism. The speed with which soccer transcended the bounds of the Anglo immigrant community and the eagerness with which the Argentine upper classes adopted it, particularly via the “Social Hygiene and Scholastic Soccer” movement to be detailed shortly, demonstrated the allure of modern sports introduced in an imperial setting. Its mere Britishness endowed it with a civilizational aura. Eagerly embraced by Argentines of wealth and influence alongside other sports such as cricket and tennis, soccer was guaranteed ideal conditions for growth.

By 1920, soccer had become fully embraced by all sectors of Argentine society. It had become at once the favored leisure activity, the most beloved organized sport, and the most attended mass spectacle. Institutionally speaking, by 1920 organized leagues had been established in nearly every province and national territory, and outliers were

well on their way toward the same, as we shall see. The spread of Argentine soccer progressed along four paths, each of which had its starting point in the activities and impetus of the Anglo-Argentine community. Each of these paths toward the universalization of soccer in Argentina—in terms of both class and region—also carried with it the end result of increasing socio-cultural ties between Argentine regional populations. The remaining sections of this chapter are dedicated to examining these four paths and their effect on the diffusion of soccer in Argentina, and effects of that diffusion on Argentine nationalism. Although 70 years will be covered here, I focus on the 1895 to 1925 period in accordance with this dissertation’s emphasis on the establishment of leagues, associations, and competitions on a nationwide scale, as opposed to a purely porteño or club-based approach. Even though, as mentioned, Britain provided the starting point—economically, socially, culturally—for Argentine soccer, the sponsors, actors, and commentators charged with popularizing soccer de-Anglicized it with astonishing rapidity. Rather than a celebration of empire, the spirit of Argentine soccer became emancipatory, an everyday exercise of discursive decolonization and positive self-contrast vis-à-vis Great Britain, even as British influence over the Argentine economy remained imperious.<sup>38</sup> In the process soccer did not just become national. It became Argentine.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>38</sup>J.A. Mangan and others have connected the diffusion of British sports in Latin America to the notion of a “British Informal Empire.” See “The Early Evolution of Modern Sport in Latin America: A Mainly English Middle-Class Inspiration,” in *Sport in Latin American Society: Past and Present*, ed. J.A. Mangan and Lamartine Dacosta, 9-42 (London and Portland, OR: Frank Cass, 2002); and Richard Giulianotti, *Football: A Sociology of the Global Game* (Oxford and Malden, MA: Oxford Publishers, 1999), 8-9. See also Allen Guttman, *Games & Empires: Modern Sports and Cultural Imperialism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), 56-63.

The desire to invert a neocolonial relationship with Britannia did not mean, of course, that other nations did not attract Argentine efforts at contra-distinction for the purposes of nationalism. As different chapters of this dissertation will chronicle, antagonists as diverse as the United States, Brazil, and Europe as a whole

*British Immigrants and the Dissemination of Soccer (Path One)*

In the latter half of the nineteenth century foreign sailors and railroad workers established soccer as an athletic game when they began playing informal matches adjacent to their sites of employment. Although the practice was for some decades dismissed by Argentine observers as a “crazy Englishman’s game,” this initial wave of soccer-play firmly established in the Argentine imaginary the notion as soccer as a vigorous activity enjoyed by respectable<sup>40</sup> foreigners—a positive view that would favor soccer’s expansion decades later. Argentines reported witnessing these unregulated matches as early as the 1860s.<sup>41</sup> Most of the historical accounts of these earliest soccer matches emerged from Buenos Aires and, consequently, fixed these early events as having occurred in the national capital.<sup>42</sup> However, the loading docks and rail-yards that

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would serve specific purposes in the evolving articulations of Argentine national identity. But in terms of nations, Great Britain remained the most irresistible target.

<sup>39</sup>As with any national identity, the limits what was meant by “Argentine,” particularly as interpolated in the soccer world of the early twentieth century, were ambiguous. As discussed in chapters two and three of this dissertation, for specific reasons “Argentina” only seemed to apply the Pampas region and its capital, Buenos Aires—a construction contested by Argentines in other regions, particularly the Northwest.

<sup>40</sup>Despite the hostility toward all things British that developed in the increasingly nationalistic realm of 1920s Argentine soccer, Great Britain remained a source of deep admiration for Argentine observers. This was made evident in everyday political and diplomatic discourse, but also on a popular level. When the Prince of Wales visited Argentina during his 1925 South America tour, pro-British acclaim registered new heights. As in any imperial or neocolonial context, empire—even informal empire—elicited veneration and contempt in equal and extreme doses.

<sup>41</sup>The first documented formal soccer match in Argentine history took place in Buenos Aires in 1867 in the spacious Palermo grounds, as has been documented by Eduardo Archetti and Julio Frydenberg. Eduardo Archetti, *Masculinidades: fútbol, tango y polo en la Argentina* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Antropofagia, 2003), 75-77; and Julio Frydenberg, *Historia social del fútbol del amateurismo a la profesionalización* (Buenos Aires: Siglo Veintiuno Editores, 2011), 25-26.

<sup>42</sup>See, for instance, Frydenberg, *Historia social del fútbol*; and Archetti, 30-31; Jorge Iwanczuk, *Historia del futbol amateur en la Argentina* (Centro de Investigacion de la Historia del Futbol, 1992); Pablo Alabarces, *Fútbol y patria* (Buenos Aires: Prometeo Libros, 2002); and Ariel Scher, *Futbol, pasion de multitudes y elites: un estudio institucional de la Asociación del Futbol Argentino (1934- 1986)* (Buenos Aires: CISEA, 1998).



served as the places of employment for these mostly British workers were distributed throughout the country, following the lines of export infrastructure as they were set up. Consequently this introductory wave of soccer in Argentina was not centered on any specific Argentine locale, but emerged simultaneously in sites all over the country. An observant porteño passing near Buenos Aires' major rail stations was just as likely to witness an informal match in action as his counterpart in the city of Santiago del Estero. Likewise, an Argentine station porter in a medium-sized provincial city like Tafí Viejo (Tucumán) would have taken note, just as would have a seasonal worker at the granary complex at Rosario's main port, of the peculiar game practiced by their British counterparts in the empty lot behind the outbuildings. The multi-sited simultaneity with which this initial wave of soccer emerged made it a national phenomenon rather the one centered solely on the Pampas or the national capital

*Morality, Social Hygiene, and Scholastic Soccer (Path Two)*

In the 1880s and 1890s soccer spread by way of the scientists and public officials who embraced it as a physical activity beneficial to the human body and, hence, the male Argentine collective corpus. Echoing the emerging European consensus about the benefits of physical education,<sup>43</sup> these experts succeeded in making educational athletics a compulsory practice in public schools throughout Argentina.<sup>44</sup> Soccer became an integral part of the growing Argentina physical education apparatus centered on school

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<sup>43</sup>Richard Holt, *Sport and the British: A Modern History* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 74-86; Allen Guttmann, *Sports: The First Five Millennia* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2007), 89-90.

<sup>44</sup>Ernesto Escobar Bavio, *El football en el Río de la Plata (desde 1893)* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Sports, 1923), 9

gymnasiums. As such it enjoyed government support and social prestige. These elitist ideologies surrounding early soccer resounded so convincingly that even by the 1920s—by which point, as shall be discussed, Argentine soccer had been wholly popularized—discourses of social hygiene and of the civilizing virtues of soccer continued to enjoy prominence in Argentine society. In the 1920s those officials who had overseen soccer’s initial dissemination reflected with satisfaction on how it had become a “social agent,” as one official in Tucumán put it.<sup>45</sup> José F. L. Castiglione,<sup>46</sup> a prominent lawyer and soccer official in Santiago del Estero, offered an eloquent summary of soccer’s usefulness as a “tool of progress and civilization”:

[Soccer’s] influence complements that of the home and school. . . . It disciplines the subject socially and physiologically. It helps to empower him organically because it teaches him self-sufficiency. . . . In the game of soccer one learns a well-known truth, albeit one not widely put into practice: the need for cooperation as the means of triumph. . . . Given the universal diffusion of soccer in our country—being the sport that has the most supporters and attracts the largest crowds—its cultivation generates the ethical force [needed] in the forging of our national character. [Soccer] reveals itself as a creative force of moral, physical, and intellectual energy, as well as a fertile source of emotion. . . . It is the great stimulating force of a country’s spiritual health.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>45</sup>The quote comes from Percy Hill (1879-1960), a sports enthusiast and public official of note in Tucumán. “D. Percy Hill habla sobre foot-ball,” *El Orden*, July 8, 1920.

<sup>46</sup>José Francisco Luis Castiglione (1893-1982) was during the 1920s one of the most influential officials in Argentine soccer. The son of working-class Italian immigrants in Santiago del Estero, Castiglione co-founded the popular Mitre soccer club in 1907. He served as president of the club as well as president of the Liga Cultural de Football, Santiago’s first-division club. In the national Argentine soccer scene, Castiglione became a spokesperson for provincial (non-Buenos Aires) institutional interests, mediating between the Interior and the national capital, as we shall see in chapter two. A lawyer by training and profession, Castiglione was also active in national politics; he served as head of the Federal Education Council (Consejo Federal de Educación) in Buenos Aires in the early 1940s, and he would be elected senator of Santiago del Estero province in the 1960s. For his part José’s brother Antonio Castiglione (1895-1989), referenced in the opening paragraphs of this chapter, was the owner and director of *El Liberal*, the city’s most prestigious daily. He also served as an authority for Santiago teams Club Atlético Santiago and Club Atlético Mitre. See “Dr. José F. L. Castiglione,” in *El Liberal: 75 aniversario, 1898-1973* (Santiago del Estero, 1973), 5-12.

<sup>47</sup>Asociación Amateurs de Football, *Memorias y Balance* (1922), 22-23.

Adrián Beccar Varela, a porteño politician and one of the most influential figures in the institutionalization of Argentine soccer during the period under study, likewise praised the moral benefits of soccer in a published pamphlet entitled “Soccer: [Its] Sociological Aspect.” Beccar Varela noted soccer’s ability to “unite [its practitioners] by mutual obligations and duties.”<sup>48</sup> The eleven individuals constituting a soccer team, he argued, became productive members of society by learning teamwork, discipline, tactics, and submission to rules and referees.<sup>49</sup> Soccer’s positive role in the “fashioning of the [Argentine] race and popular culture”<sup>50</sup> seemed beyond question to those who practiced it in the early twentieth century.

Countless observers further praised soccer for providing Argentine youths a virtuous, socially productive form of recreation. Writing in 1923, one journalist recalled life in the Argentine city of Santiago del Estero prior to the social improvements wrought by soccer. “Until 1898,” he reminisced, “[life in] Santiago [del Estero] was monotony, lacking stimulation for young people.” The writer conjured a bleak scene: children playing marbles, jacks, and card games in the dusty streets, while adults languished in taverns and drunk-houses—all of which only served to “put at great risk the future of the race.”<sup>51</sup> Only the arrival of soccer served to “improve local habits and customs: little by

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<sup>48</sup>The pamphlet was republished in its entirety in *La Nación*. See Adrián Beccar Varela, “El football: Elemento sociológico,” *La Nación*, August 8, 1920, p. 8.

<sup>49</sup>Ibid.

<sup>50</sup>Ibid.

<sup>51</sup>“Los deportes,” in *El Liberal: 25 años* (Santiago del Estero: El Liberal, 1923), 128. Percy Hill, the Tucumán-born sports enthusiast mentioned earlier (see n. 44 above), provided an equally dreary description of pre-soccer social life in Tucumán. Hill evoked a Sunday afternoon in the Argentine northwest. Before soccer, the provincial capital of Tucumán would “offer the dispiriting spectacle of a backward city lacking

little [*santiagueños*] abandon[ed] the tavern for the soccer field.”<sup>52</sup> Officials at the highest levels of political power likewise manifested this appreciation for the civilizing power of soccer. Argentine president Marcelo T. Alvear praised soccer officials for “providing the fatherland with sons who are robust both morally and physically,” making full use of the sport to “isolate [Argentine] youth from vice.”<sup>53</sup> Santiago del Estero governor Manuel C. Cáceres concurred, lauding the power of sports to “expunge the physical and mental weaknesses of the Argentine race.”<sup>54</sup> And porteño politician Alfredo Palacios, during a speech delivered in the city of Tucumán, offered: “Sports has a clear role to play in the creation of the national race. . . . A people who are physically strong will undoubtedly possess greater capacity for hard work than a race that is weakened by vice. . . . Sports are the enemy of vice.”<sup>55</sup> For politicians, supporting the growth of soccer materially and morally was more than a popular political position: doing so uplifted the national population in every sense.

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in ideals. . . . Local people, bored in their homes” and, with no public leisure space to speak of, “would head straight for the drunk-house.” The arrival of soccer, however, separated men from their “vice,” turning local barflies into soccer fans. See “D. Percy Hill habla sobre foot-ball,” *El Orden*, July 8, 1920.

<sup>52</sup>Ibid. Nearly identical statements regarding the role of sports and soccer in the Argentine interior occur in A. Burgos Santillán, “El deporte como factor moralizador de los pueblos,” *El Liberal: 25 años* (Santiago del Estero: El Liberal, 1923), 132; “El júbilo provinciano,” *La Cancha*, October 27, 1928, p. 2; and in Beccar Varela’s “El football: Elemento sociológico,” among many other texts.

<sup>53</sup>“En audiencia especial fueron recibidos por el presidente Alvear los delegados provinciales de football,” *La Argentina*, October 5, 1927, p. 3.

<sup>54</sup>“El deporte es la salud de las razas,” *Añatuya Deportiva y Social*, August 11, 1923

<sup>55</sup>“Una de las mentalidades más robustas del país emitió juicios sobre el beneficio del sport,” *El Orden*, October 12, 1928. Palacios also quoted Nicaraguan poet Santiago Argüello (1871-1940) with dramatic effect during a highlight of his speech: “When the body of the [national] race is as pure as possible, and the soul of the [national] race has been steeped in morality and character . . . only then shall we be able to declare with blameless pride that we have created a fatherland.” Ibid.

Even though proponents succeeded in establishing soccer as an integral component of public physical education programs, this does not mean it was practiced at all public schools, nor did all public school systems possess the resources required to implement a physical education program in the first place. As with all ambitious public initiatives in late nineteenth-century Argentina, only schools and governments in the wealthiest, most densely populated regions—especially the Pampas—could afford to construct and maintain gymnasiums or proper playing fields. However, despite limited resources, a number of private and public institutions in some provincial capitals were at the vanguard of the physical education movement. In 1888 in the northeastern Argentine city of Corrientes, Santiago FitzSimon, the director of the city’s top boys’ school, hired a Cambridge-educated instructor named Thomas C.T. Reeve to institute a physical education program there.<sup>56</sup> The scholastic soccer that took root in Corrientes spread from there to other Argentine provinces. Educational officials in Tucumán, some 500 miles to the west of Corrientes, solicited the help of José Zubuar, who had also been deeply involved in implementing scholastic soccer initiative in Corrientes. Zubuar arrived in the city of Tucumán in 1891, and by 1892, students at the top *tucumano* schools were playing soccer as part of their physical education.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>56</sup>Escobar Bavio, *El football en Río de la Plata*, 9. Born James FitzSimon in Ireland in 1849, FitzSimon began teaching in Argentine institutions in the late 1860s. He became influential in Argentina during the 1890s for his ideas regarding the importance of technical education as part of a state-designed curriculum. Under various presidencies between 1890 and 1920, FitzSimon served alternately as director of the National School of Commerce, Chief Inspector for Secondary Education, and Chief Inspector of Public Education. He was ultimately responsible for the decision to include soccer as part of a national physical education mandate. See Nancy R. Escobar, “Santiago FitzSimon: Promoting Technical Education in Argentina,” in *Irish Migration Studies in Latin America* 7, no 1. (March 2009): 105-108.

<sup>57</sup>“Los albores del football tucumano,” *El Orden*, July 5, 1928, p. 7. The official charged with importing scholastic soccer to Tucumán from Corrientes was José R. Fierro, vice-director of Tucumán’s Escuela Normal de Maestros. Fierro had already begun building from scratch Tucumán’s first physical education program, and bringing Zubuar from Corrientes was a key part of his initiative. See also Antonio Benejam, *Historia del fútbol tucumano* (Tucumán: Talleres Gráficos La Raza, 1950), 23-29.

The Corrientes-Tucumán nexus of scholastic soccer suggests a path for the early growth of Argentine soccer that contradicts assumptions of a Buenos Aires-outward pattern.<sup>58</sup> In the case of those northern provincial capitals, professional networking proved instrumental.<sup>59</sup> In a manner similar to their railroad-worker counterparts, English-speaking educators in fin-de-siècle Argentina enjoyed a prestige that made them a desired commodity at educational institutions nationwide. English-speaking immigrants directed public and private schools in every major and mid-sized Argentine city. At the forefront of the physical educational movement and steeped in their home countries in the rules of soccer play, these educators established local loci of scholastic soccer with a geographic simultaneity that mirrored the earlier, 1860-1880 soccer wave. Although subsequent chapters in this dissertation note the predominance of porteño institutions in the economics, politics, and culture of Argentine soccer, the initial spread of scholastic soccer followed alternate paths that sidestepped Buenos Aires entirely.

Officials in those towns too small or too apathetic to promote soccer despaired at their condition. In the tiny Santiago del Estero town of Icaño, one leader lamented, “Our youth fail to understand, or refuse to understand, that physical exercise is something that

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<sup>58</sup> Mariano Reyna, a prominent Argentine player of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, also exemplifies how soccer in the Argentine Interior not only developed in a parallel fashion to soccer in the Pampas, but also played a role in advancing Pampas soccer. Reyna, born and raised in Corrientes, learned soccer at the abovementioned top boys school in that provincial city. As a young man he moved to Buenos Aires to practice law while also becoming a prominent player for major porteño clubs Estudiantes and Alumni between 1902 and 1906. Reyna played for the Argentine national team, and later became a prominent referee and league official. Before his untimely death in 1915 he donated the Copa Reyna, a popular annual cup between Buenos Aires and Rosario all-star teams held throughout the 1910s and 1920s. See Ernesto Escobar Bavio, *Alumni: Cuna de campeones y escuela de hidalguía* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Difusión, 1953), 292.

<sup>59</sup> The English-speaking educators that disseminated scholastic soccer throughout Argentina are exemplified by the likes of Santiago FitzSimon, Thomas Reeve, William Waters, Alexander Watson Hutton, Roberto Raynolds, Isaac Newell, and Walter R. Power.

the human body cannot do without. Young people! Learn to be useful to your family and to your fatherland. Sports, sports, sports will help you do it!”<sup>60</sup> Officials in Beltrán, a small town some 90 miles to the northwest of Icaño, published their own complaint a few months later after the town’s soccer league had stalled. “[Without soccer] people will have no other pastime beyond those offered by taverns and dances . . . in which they give themselves up to the pleasures of Bacchus.” With the return of organized soccer to Beltrán, these observers were convinced, conscientious citizens would be able to “isolate many of our young people from altars of corruption and turn them into true men of sound body and spirit.”<sup>61</sup> The prevailing understanding of soccer as a tool of social betterment allowed it to spread quickly, not least of all because such thinking guaranteed it material support by politicians and the elite. And those unlucky, socially-minded citizens in locales deprived of the benefits of organized soccer bemoaned their fate. After all, as one soccer enthusiast from the Santiago del Estero village of Gramilla wistfully reported, “Sports offer proof of the progress attained by civilized people.”<sup>62</sup> Those who ignored it placed the wellbeing of their communities and their “fatherland” at due risk.

*Soccer Institutions Proliferate across Regions (Path Three)*

Because organized soccer in Argentina was initially tied to educational institutions of means, at first its initial dissemination was relatively stunted. Dependent on rare government subsidies or private patronage, through the 1890s this scholastic version of soccer remained an elite affair practiced by the privileged few in an

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<sup>60</sup>“Apatía sportiva,” *Añatuya Deportiva y Social*, January 20, 1923.

<sup>61</sup>“El football,” *ibid.*, May 26, 1923.

<sup>62</sup>“De Gramilla,” *ibid.*, April 28, 1923.

instructional setting.<sup>63</sup> Prior to 1900 an enormous gap had emerged between the informal, working-class soccer practiced by British workers on one hand and the circumscribed, elitist version practiced by Anglo-Argentines and upper-class Argentines on the other. Those largely working-class British-born laborers of the 1860-1880 period were ostensibly taking their soccer cues and deriving their playing knowledge from their previous years spent in Great Britain. In the British Isles the sport had for decades been wholly popularized and professionalized, with organized clubs and leagues dating back to the 1860s. The key to the transition of Argentine soccer from a relatively limited practice to a widespread one was the emergence of the local soccer club, the basic building block in the nationwide popularization of Argentine soccer.

The Argentine soccer club was a specific iteration of the leisure club phenomenon that emerged in Europe in the mid-nineteenth century. Not unlike country clubs in the present-day United States, these private, voluntary, non-profit organizations offered paying members facilities for engaging in a leisure activity—or a variety of them—such as gymnastics, shooting, fencing, or tennis. A number of sports clubs in this model, located principally in the Pampas and dominated by Anglo-Argentines, developed in late nineteenth-century Argentina. In the 1890s it became common for these clubs to sponsor an amateur soccer team, representing the club, as part of their varied activities. The soccer teams that emerged during this period, such as Gimnasia y Esgrima in La Plata (f. 1887), Quilmes Athletic Club (1887), and Club Atlético Banfield (1896)—all located in

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<sup>63</sup>Once leagues were organized in Buenos Aires, as we shall see shortly, teams of this ilk dominated these early competitions. Lomas Athletic Club and Alumni Athletic Club, the two giants of institutionalized porteño soccer between 1890 and 1910, both originated as school teams formed by the alumni of British educational institutions: Lomas Academy and Buenos Aires English High School, both in the Buenos Aires suburbs. Later these teams became independent sports clubs in their own right, competing with great success against clubs of non-academic origins.



the Buenos Aires suburbs—fit this profile. The same can be said for Club Atlético of Tucumán (1902), Club Gimnasia y Tiro in Salta (1902), Club Atlético in Santiago del Estero (1905), and Gimnasia y Esgrima in Mendoza (1908).<sup>64</sup> At the same time a second variety of amateur soccer institution began to emerge: the railroad club. Railroad workers—a mix of Anglo-, Anglo-Argentine, native-born, and foreign-born Argentines—formed soccer teams manned wholly by employees who played matches during off-time. Rosario Central (1889) and Central Córdoba in Rosario (1906) constitute early examples of the railroad club, as do Ferrocarril Oeste (Buenos Aires, 1904), Club Atlético Talleres (Córdoba, 1913), Central Córdoba (Santiago del Estero, 1919), and Central Norte (Salta, 1921). Still other amateur clubs were formed, initially and explicitly, as soccer clubs (*clubes de football*) by men lacking the other, aforementioned institutional avenues (schools, leisure clubs, or railroad clubs) toward organized soccer play. Boca Juniors (Buenos Aires, 1903), Newell's Old Boys (Rosario, 1903), Colón (Santa Fe, 1905), San Martín (San Juan, 1907), and Mitre (Santiago del Estero, 1907), to name a few examples, came into existence via meetings of young men desirous of organizing a neighborhood soccer team, although many of these clubs diversified their activities as the clubs grew in membership and wealth.

By the early 1890s, with the proliferation of clubs of varied backgrounds, initiatives were well underway to establish formal competitions involving prominent academic, railroad, and neighborhood clubs. Prior to this development, organized clubs located in big cities throughout the country engaged only in one-off games that were informally structured. Now, in 1891, the year a group of British educational officials

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<sup>64</sup> As specified in no. 1, when provided alone without other qualifiers, these placenames refer to the capital cities of provinces of the same name, rather than to the provinces themselves.

formed the Association Argentine Football<sup>65</sup> League<sup>66</sup> in Buenos Aires, affiliated clubs became united in systematized annual tournaments played throughout the winter months, complete with all the trappings of proper sports competitions: trophies, officials, and a slowly growing crowd of the curious on the sidelines. These early competitions have been canonized in Argentine soccer history as the first “seasons” of Argentina’s national soccer league. In reality, between 1891 and 1905 the annual competitions governed by the Argentine Association Football Association were weeks-long tournaments (“cups” in the parlance of the day) disputed by no more than six teams and only involving, almost to a man, members of the Anglo-Argentine community.<sup>67</sup> Governed by a spirit of amateurism and gentlemanly pursuit, the earliest stages of institutionalized Argentine soccer celebrated leisure rather than mass spectacle, in a spirit that was infinitely more elitist than democratic.

It could not remain so for long. At the close of the nineteenth century and opening of the twentieth, Argentines embraced organized soccer at a scale unprecedented in terms of Argentine socio-cultural institutions. They embraced it not just as a simple game or leisure activity, but as an organized, regulated competition where clubs and leagues provided the means of drama, as well as a means of social activity. Although

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<sup>65</sup> The English-language spelling of “football” here and in other parts of this dissertation is deliberate. In Argentina and other parts of the world, English terminology for both general and technical aspects of the game survived until the late 1920s and 1930s.

<sup>66</sup> This earliest iteration of an Argentine soccer league lasted one year. Reformed in 1893 as the Argentine Association Football League, the league would gradually grow from five clubs in 1893 to eleven in 1907. Intra-league turmoil and divisions would make the number of top-division clubs vary from season to season throughout the 1910s and 1920s, though 20 teams was more or less the rule from 1915 on.

<sup>67</sup> Beyond that fledgling, Anglo-dominated league system, many Argentines were nonetheless playing soccer in an academic context, within a club setting, or informally in a neighborhood setting. However, only after 1905 did the top porteño soccer league become more inclusive in terms of the quantity of participating teams and players. It bears emphasizing that this initial exclusivity characterizing the 1890-1905 period applied only to the top organized league in the national capital.

porteño clubs convened the first documented league in the history of Argentine soccer, within a decade, similar institutions had formed in major provincial urban centers like Rosario, Córdoba, and Tucumán, as will be discussed shortly. Those newly formed Buenos Aires clubs successful in joining the local Argentine Association Football League did not enjoy immediate access to the coveted first division of play. Because they were comparative latecomers, present-day powerhouses such as Boca Juniors and River Plate were made to initiate their league participation in the second or third divisions, working their way to the top echelon season by season. Many of Argentina's most popular and storied clubs trace their roots to this period of institutional expansion. These teams, like Club Atlético Independiente de Avellaneda or Mitre of Santiago del Estero, attracted an immediate mass following precisely because their origins differed so from the first-wave Anglo-Argentine clubs. The teams that fit this profile—those driving this crucial stage of institutional expansion—were, in many cases, founded and staffed by working-class Argentines. In central Argentina, many of them were non-Anglo immigrants and the children of immigrants.<sup>68</sup> In other regions of the country, mestizo and indigenous-descended Argentines traced the same path, for they conformed to the same socio-political profiles, comparatively speaking, as their Pampas countrymen.

These neighborhood “*criollo*” teams were Argentine-born and Argentine-staffed. They were located in—and garnered their core support from—working-class communities in the hearts of cities rather than in the well-heeled suburbs. It mattered

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<sup>68</sup> Despite the fact that they were immigrants, their clubs were almost never tributes to ethnic communities, but rather tributes to neighborhoods, to Argentina, or to the political and class inclinations of their founders. Julio Frydenberg and other scholars have noted the relative lack of ethnic clubs in Argentina, in contrast especially with other countries like Brazil (Germânia of São Paulo and two different Palestra Itália teams in São Paulo and Minas Gerais) and Chile (Audax Italia, Palestino, and Unión Española in Santiago). Those ethnic clubs formed in the 1910s and 1920s were shortlived, and those few in existence today—Sportivo Italiano, Deportivo Armenio, Deportivo Español, and Deportivo Paraguay—were all formed in the 1950s.

little that the old guard of Argentine clubs—the Lomas Athletics and Alumnis that were the founding fathers of Argentine soccer—dominated competitions until 1912.<sup>69</sup> After 1912, by the sheer force of numbers, the neighborhood *criollo* teams overwhelmed their predecessors competitively. Racing de Avellaneda, with nary an English surname in the squad, emerged as the most successful porteño team of the 1910s, and they ushered in a new era in Argentine soccer. Their clubs rendered obsolete and their players supplanted on the Argentine national team, the great majority of the old Anglo- teams disbanded, were forced to restructure, were relegated to lower divisions, or joined the separate Anglo-Argentine league to compete among themselves through the end of the 1920s.

The Buenos Aires-based Argentine Association Football League—re-baptized as the Argentine Football Association and then, throughout with 1910s and 1920s, as the Asociación Argentina de Football (AAF)—counted the most venerable sports institutions in Argentina among its affiliates. Although the AAF reigned supreme as Argentina’s most powerful soccer league, by no means could it claim a monopoly over all Argentine soccer institutions. Quite to the contrary: because only the best-funded and most organized clubs could meet the financial and infrastructural obligations of the AAF, a host of leagues emerged in Buenos Aires alone during the early twentieth century to provide more accessible competitions. Known collectively as the “independent leagues,” these often ephemeral associations offered a variety of alternatives to the AAF.<sup>70</sup> Some

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<sup>69</sup> Accordingly, not just the founders of Argentine football, but its first superstars—porteños, most of them—were British or Anglo-descended. Eduardo Jewell, Arnaldo Watson Hutton, Carlos Wilson, Maximiliano Susan, and the Brown brothers—Jorge, Carlos, Eliseo, Alfredo, Ernesto, and their cousin Juan Domingo—were the most celebrated figures of Argentine football before 1910.

<sup>70</sup> So-called “independent leagues” self-referentially proclaimed their “independence” from, specifically, the AAF, which had come to be known as the “official” league. The term “official soccer” evoked not just the AAF’s status as the premier soccer institution in the country, but also its connections to “official” politicians in local and national seats of power.

independent leagues, like the aforementioned Liga Anglo-Argentina, catered to a specific ethnic community. Other leagues celebrated ideology, such as the communist Federación Deportiva Obrera,<sup>71</sup> while the Liga Universitaria de Deportes provided a more aristocratic-minded soccer league for students. Buenos Aires businesses sponsored a “Liga Comercial” that governed recreational teams fielded by employees of specific companies or public works offices. The prominent Gath & Chaves department store team enjoyed a splendidly outfitted training ground where they hosted corresponding games against rival teams fielded by the Telegraph Office or the Banking Association. These wholly recreational leagues received scant coverage in the sports press and drew sparse attendance. That, for many, was part of the point.<sup>72</sup> The independent leagues allowed players and clubs to enjoy organized competition without the institutional demands and ticket-sale stresses of other competitive leagues.

While the independent leagues provided recreation, the AAF provided spectacle. The biggest, best-known, and most widely supported Argentine clubs could be found in the first division of the AAF. Paying crowds for AAF matches far exceeded those of other leagues, and in the first twenty years of the twentieth century demand for AAF tickets greatly outpaced stadium capacity. Ticket prices were raised with minimal complaint, funding the construction of early stadiums, which in turn enabled greater

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<sup>71</sup> The Federación Deportiva Obrera (FDO, formed in 1924) was the mother institution for soccer teams drawn from communist-oriented social clubs. Socialists, for their part, formed the Confederación Socialista Deportiva (CSD) in 1924. Like other independent leagues, the FDO and the CSD had their own (often precarious) playing fields, referees, and official bulletins. See Hernán Camarero, “La experiencia comunista en el mundo de los trabajadores, 1925-1935,” *Prismas: Revista de historia intelectual* [Argentina] 6 (2002): 201-202.

<sup>72</sup> The motto established by the FDO in 1925 was “No to corporate sports clubs! Yes to popular, worker sports!” Ibid, 202.

ticket sales from larger crowds. On a symbolic level, the porteño AAF perpetuated its primacy over rival leagues—both in and outside the city—when its officials succeeded in affiliating that Buenos Aires league to the Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA) in 1912.<sup>73</sup> Once secured, affiliation with prestigious, European-based FIFA allowed the AAF to organize competitive matches under the much-desired FIFA auspices, against teams from FIFA-affiliated countries in Europe. In terms of press coverage and ticket sales, international matches against European teams were the pinnacle sports events in early twentieth-century Argentina. These most lucrative of spectacles reinforced the national influence of the AAF, focusing national and international attention on porteño soccer as a whole.

Porteño predominance notwithstanding, as a spectacle and as a recreational practice institutionalized soccer sprouted deep roots in all regions of the country. In a manner similar to Buenos Aires institutions, leagues in large cities such as Rosario, Córdoba, and Tucumán transitioned from limited annual “cup” competitions to an official league format<sup>74</sup> between 1905 and 1915. During those ten years proper seasonal leagues formed in the cities of Rosario (1905), Córdoba (1905), Santa Fe (1907), Bahía Blanca (1908), Mendoza (1908), Catamarca (1913), and Tucumán (1915). By 1925 nearly every major and mid-sized Argentine city enjoyed a soccer league with at least four first-division teams.

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<sup>73</sup>As will be analyzed in chapter two, this was an audacious and altogether disingenuous move—only national associations or confederations could affiliate with FIFA, as opposed to local leagues.

<sup>74</sup>A weekly competition running for 7-8 months of the year, employing a single-table format based on points rather than head-to-head elimination.

It is, perhaps, unsurprising that Argentina's major urban areas, among all its regions, should have fueled the initial emergence of organized soccer leagues. What *does* surprise, however, is the vertiginous rate of growth of soccer institutions in medium-sized cities, small towns, and rural areas during the 1910s and 1920s. This growth occurred in provinces removed from the Pampas, showcasing the all-encompassing reach of institutionalized soccer. Data from the province of Santiago del Estero allows us to examine in some detail the development of soccer in an Argentine province which, in terms of geographical location, climate, demographics, and economic development, contrasts with Buenos Aires. One of the earliest chronicles of *santiagueño* soccer traces the increase in club-affiliated players from 30 in 1899 to 200 in 1904.<sup>75</sup> Just five years after the 1915 creation of the Liga Santiagueña de Football in the provincial capital of Santiago del Estero, the city was home to two rival top-division leagues. Between them, the Liga Santiagueña and the upstart Liga Cultural amassed twenty first-division clubs, 300 first-division players, and nearly 4,000 club members—without taking into account the teams and nearly 200 players competing in each league's four lower divisions.<sup>76</sup> Given the estimated population of the capital city of 25,000 in the early twenties, the percentage of citizens directly involved in the soccer institutions of those two leagues can be calculated at nearly 20% of the city's male population.<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>75</sup>Data compiled from "El deporte," in *El Liberal: 25 Años* (Santiago del Estero: El Liberal, 1923), 128.

<sup>76</sup>Data compiled from "Constitución de la Liga Santiagueña" in *ibid*, 129-130; and "La Asociación Amateurs está representada por la Liga Cultural," *ibid*, 130.

<sup>77</sup>To the estimated 1,100 soccer players affiliated to Santiago del Estero's (capital) two soccer leagues can be added an additional 1,900 *santiagueños* playing in leagues and on teams throughout the rest of the province. *El Liberal* estimated that "no less than 3,000 people play [organized] soccer throughout the whole province." "El deporte," *ibid*, 128.

Other data points to the spread of institutionalized soccer in more rural parts of Santiago del Estero province. Information extracted from the sports weekly *Añatuya Deportiva y Social* affords a glimpse into the history of organized soccer in southwestern Santiago del Estero province. Located in the semi-arid Gran Chaco region<sup>78</sup> near the tri-border area of the Santiago del Estero, Santa Fe, and Chaco provinces,<sup>79</sup> the city of Añatuya (pop. 9,000) first bore witness to the formation of a soccer league in 1920. Astonishingly, by 1922 eight clubs had affiliated with that Liga Añatuyense de Football, necessitating, in the process, the creation of a regional sports weekly to provide adequate press coverage. The pages of *Añatuya Deportiva and Social* document the dispersal of institutionalized soccer to the smallest towns of the region. Correspondents in scattered agricultural towns like Campo Gallo, Guardia Escolta, Pintos, and Malbrán published reports chronicling the formation of local teams and—in some cases—leagues throughout the early 1920s. Little Quimilí, with a 1923 population of 900, fielded two top clubs in the local league based in Añatuya. Tiny Aerolito, which had 600 inhabitants, also fielded a first-division team in that same league.<sup>80</sup> Even individual *estancias* and *obrajes*<sup>81</sup> fielded teams of workers for a season or, more often, a one-off match against visiting clubs from nearby towns.<sup>82</sup> Sportswriters ultimately reported the existence of some 40

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<sup>78</sup>The “Gran Chaco” region is a sparsely populated semi-arid region encompassing parts of north-central Argentina, southeastern Bolivia, and western Paraguay, as well as a portion of southwestern Brazil. It is not to be confused with the Chaco province of Argentina, which is itself largely located in the Gran Chaco region.

<sup>79</sup>Chaco figured technically as a national territory, rather than a province, from its creation in 1884 to its ascension to provincial status in 1951.

<sup>80</sup>*Añatuya Deportiva y Social*, June 9, 1923.

<sup>81</sup>Temporary saw mills and tannic acid factories, often focusing on harvesting the *quebracho* tree. The story of the quebracho industry is closely linked to the economic development of the Santiago del Estero province, as I shall discuss in chapter two.



loosely-affiliated first-division teams scattered throughout southeastern Santiago del Estero province. The ubiquity of the Argentine soccer club even the most remote settlements amazed reporters from the provincial capital, who wondered in Santiago's *El Liberal* at soccer's ability "to penetrate even the most recondite corners of the province."<sup>83</sup>

The case of Santiago del Estero as presented here suggests like developments—organized recreational soccer reaching the farthest corners of far-flung provinces between 1915 and 1925—on a nationwide scale. While my research agenda did not allow for in-depth research in additional provinces, it is likely that other regions experienced institutional growth on a similar level, both in provincial urban centers and provincial *interiors*. Organized leagues in even the most sparsely populated territories like Chaco and La Pampa—as well as in medium-sized provincial urban centers like Salta, San Luis, San Juan, Rafaela (Santa Fe), and Concordia (Entre Ríos), to name a few—had all been established before 1925. Despite the fact that wealthier leagues had been established at earlier dates in larger cities like Santa Fe, Córdoba, Tucumán, and Mendoza, these smaller provinces and cities followed close behind. Such was the growth that by 1920 one prominent official calculated that, nationwide, 200,000 Argentines were affiliated in organized leagues.<sup>84</sup> Researchers writing in 1955 reckoned that in 1922, some 72,000

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<sup>82</sup>Ibid, June 2, 1923; and *ibid*, June 16, 1923.

<sup>83</sup>"En Nueva Esperanza," *El Liberal*, September 1, 1920, p. 6.

<sup>84</sup>Beccar Varela, p. 8. This number incorporates players in independent leagues. Another 1919 report, this one published in *La República*, calculates that taking the "official" Buenos Aires league alone, there were some 85 clubs fielding some 500 teams (counting the different age divisions within each club), with 5,500 players, 500 linesmen, and 250 referees. The report estimated that some 20,000 people watched the 10 first-division games played each weekend, with an addition 8,500 attending matches in the lower divisions. Taking the 42 weekends of the soccer-playing seasons, together with 10 international matches against

Argentines were playing in “official” soccer alone, spread out among the 68 leagues and nearly 1,000 clubs affiliated nationwide.<sup>85</sup>

Even though institutionalized soccer had rapidly become as a nationwide phenomenon, during this initial period of Argentine soccer no sense of trans-regional interconnectedness existed to accompany it. Physical distance accounted for this.<sup>86</sup> Until the 1920s most city and regional leagues had little institutional interaction with another, either within or across provincial borders.<sup>87</sup> As I discuss in chapters two and three, until the late 1910s and early 1920s no national structure emerged to interconnect Argentine soccer institutions across regions. Despite the myopically misleading name of the earlier-discussed Buenos Aires-based Asociación Argentina de Football, no semblance of a

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Uruguayan clubs and combined teams (15,000 attendees apiece), some 2.5 million tickets were purchased to watch soccer over the course of one year alone. This statistic excludes the numerous “independent” and commercial leagues, not to mention all other cities beyond Buenos Aires. See “La popularidad del football: Pequeña estadística de *La República*,” *La República*, May 25, 1919.

<sup>85</sup>*Historia del Fútbol Argentino*, ed. Héctor Chaponick (Buenos Aires: Editorial Eiffel, 1955), 1:64.

<sup>86</sup>Despite the fact that Argentina’s railway system had by the late nineteenth century become Latin America’s most extensive, until the 1920s relatively soccer clubs teams could afford to fund a long-distance trip. With the majority of Argentine clubs in an embryonic phase for the first quarter of the 1900s, ticket sales for anything but the highest-profile matches brought in scant proceeds. Not until the 1920s did most provincial teams possess sufficient capital to fund long-distance travel for a exhibitionary match. Even during the 1920s, when soccer in the Argentine Northwest reached a peak in terms of popularity and institutional growth, teams required substantial financial assistance from local and national politicians, or from Buenos Aires league officials, to attend the Campeonato Argentino tournament in Buenos Aires, as I discuss in chapter three. Major Buenos Aires teams, on the other hand, in addition to having the capital to fund tours to the Interior, tended to offset travel costs by claiming a cut from ticket sales. Porteño teams were a top draw in provincial cities, often breaking local attendance records due to the national popularity of porteño clubs. When teams from the Interior played against porteño clubs, it almost always occurred on these terms. Visits of provincial teams to Buenos Aires, where teams and players from the Interior were for the most part unknown, remained very much the exception during the amateur period.

<sup>87</sup>As with so many other matters, the Pampas formed an exception to this tendency. Teams from the provinces of Santa Fe and Córdoba, along with that of Buenos Aires formed their own regional nexus of play, one that also included Montevideo. Buenos Aires clubs began playing with both Montevideo and Rosario clubs as early as 1890, commencing matches with clubs from the city of Santa Fe shortly thereafter. For their part, Córdoba’s Liga Cordobesa organized frequent matches with Buenos Aires and Rosario clubs beginning in 1906. Córdoba and Santa Fe were indisputably porteño-oriented in the sphere of sports as well as economics. See Binoy Pereyra, “Historia del fútbol cordobés,” in *Historia del Fútbol Argentino*, ed. Héctor Chaponick (Buenos Aires: Editorial Eiffel, 1955), 3:331-44; and Juan Pascual, “Recuerdos del ayer rosarino,” *ibid*, 345-52.

proper national soccer league existed until the late 1930s. Until such organization could begin to emerge, provincial leagues operated autonomously and developed in relative isolation. This relative isolation did not mean that the activities of regional soccer institutions were restricted—by decree or custom—to within their regional or provincial boundaries. It simply meant that until a national soccer organization coalesced, provincial or regional leagues developed competitive networks and rivalries that bypassed the national capital altogether.

Such trans-regional, cross-institutional interactions were arranged between individual clubs, and on a “friendly,”<sup>88</sup> non-competitive basis. Clubs took special pride in organizing rare “interprovincial” matches played between teams located in different provinces, and as early sports writers created formative narratives of regional sports histories, they highlighted these “interprovincials” as landmark events. In Santiago del Estero province the first such match that took place occurred in 1905, contested between teams from La Banda (Santiago del Estero) and Ceres (Santa Fe).<sup>89</sup> Teams from Tucumán, for their part, formed an early competitive nexus with teams from teams from Córdoba and Salta.<sup>90</sup> On one hand the specific patterns of early interprovincial play presented here indicate the influence of geography in dictating competitive networks. Tucumán and Santiago lie but 150 km apart, but Santiago del Estero’s physical location in the Argentine Chaco initially led it to gravitate toward like opponents from northern

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<sup>88</sup>In soccer parlance the noun *friendly* refers to a non-official exhibition match taking place outside of any larger competitive framework. Involved teams can be clubs, all-star teams, regional teams, or national teams.

<sup>89</sup>“El deporte,” in *El Liberal: 25 Años* (Santiago del Estero: El Liberal, 1923), 128.

<sup>90</sup>Binoy Pereyra, 342; Juan Vargas Nievas, “Ayer y hoy del fútbol tucumano,” in *Historia del Fútbol Argentino*, ed. Héctor Chaponick (Buenos Aires: Editorial Eiffel, 1955), 3:388; and Benejam, 33, 135-136.

Santa Fe. At the same time, these earliest patterns of competition reflected the mode of expansion of the Argentine railway system, itself the product of larger economic forces. Though both Córdoba and Salta lie substantially farther from Tucumán than does Santiago del Estero, regular passenger rail to Córdoba and Salta was established much earlier.<sup>91</sup> In both cases soccer used existing transportation networks before become itself the impetus for the expansion of railroad schedules interprovincial travel for fans.

The frequency of interprovincial matches increased exponentially throughout the late 1910s and early 1920s. A host of annual and multi-annual cup matches were established involving all-star (“combined”) teams from rival provinces or cities. Tucumán-Santiago del Estero (two annual cups), Córdoba-Tucumán, Córdoba-Santa Fe, Santa Fe-Paraná, Buenos Aires-Concordia (Entre Ríos province), and Buenos-Bahía Blanca, to name just a few examples, all played at least one annual cup involving combined teams. Regional tournaments involving combined teams also proliferated, pitting, in one case, combined teams in northeastern Buenos Aires province and southern Santa Fe province (San Nicolás, Pergamino, and Cañada de Gómez); or, in another case, northeastern teams (“the Torneo del Litoral,” involving the Corrientes and Formosa provinces, the Chaco territory, and the city of Posadas), which attracted national attention at its 1929 debut. These matches involved not neighborhood clubs, but all-star teams intended to “represent” an entire city or province. Through them Argentines learned local geographies—or had them reinforced. Taken together with the numerous

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<sup>91</sup>The Argentine North West Railway—and the Córdoba Central Railway, the company the absorbed it—ran their sugar-exporting rail-line due south through Córdoba rather than southeast through Santiago del Estero. Only after 1904 did passenger rail between Tucumán and Santiago del Estero—via the Córdoba Central or Central Norte lines—become an everyday occurrence.

interprovincial matches between clubs, this new, concentrated pattern interprovincial play reemphasized a sense of regional identity even as they played out provincial rivalries.<sup>92</sup>

Such activity could only be made possible through the breathless expansion of the Argentine railway. The railroad development that had begun in earnest in the 1870s culminated with a final burst in the 1910s and 1920s. To be sure, a closer look at the history of rail transport in the Northwest region evinces the true roots of Argentine railroad expansion: the railway was not funded by the Argentine state to foment human movement, but by foreign companies—particularly of British origin—as a means of extracting raw goods to port. Those British-operated passenger lines extending to the Northwest—the Central Córdoba and Central Argentino lines were prominent examples—nevertheless availed themselves of the completed freight tracks.<sup>93</sup> In this pre-flight era, when paved interprovincial highways were virtually nonexistent, railroad emerged as the obvious cornerstone of interregional soccer competition.

Regardless of the primacy of agricultural commodities in rail movement, passenger lines merrily joined forces with soccer institutions to transport teams, officials, and fans across provincial lines, while boosting business. Throughout the 1920s the Central Argentino line ran special trains for interprovincial and intraregional tournaments. Fans in Santiago del Estero interested in accompanying the team to Tucumán for the annual *El Orden* Cup were able to leave Tucumán at 7:10am and returned the same day at 9pm, giving them plenty of time to explore the city and enjoy

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<sup>92</sup> The Campeonato Argentino, the subject of chapter three, was the premium tournament of this kind.

<sup>93</sup> See Mario Justo López and Jorge Eduardo Waddell, eds., *Nueva historia del ferrocarril en la Argentina: 150 años de política ferroviaria* (Buenos Aires: Lumiere, 2007); Colin M. Lewis, *British Railways in Argentina, 1857-1914: A Case Study of Foreign Investment* (London: Athlone, 1983); Fernando López de Amo, *Ferrocarril, ideología y política ferroviaria en el proyecto liberal argentino, 1852-1916* (Madrid: Centro Español de Estudios de América Latina, 1990).

lunch before the 2pm kickoff. For the 1928 *El Orden* Cup final, some 800 rowdy *santiagueño* fans, laden with fireworks and white handkerchiefs, made the 100-mile trip.<sup>94</sup> Through these competitions Argentine players and fans encountered each other face to face, a seasonal mass transfer of bodies, a reiterated corporeal meeting between cities and provinces unprecedented in Argentine history.

In a manner paralleling other regional competitive networks, the three major cities of the Pampas region—Buenos Aires, Montevideo, and Rosario—settled into their own competitive soccer nexus. The sister national capitals of Argentina and Uruguay, set at opposite ends of the Río de la Plata estuary, organized international soccer matches beginning in the early 1890s.<sup>95</sup> For their part officials in Rosario formalized multiple annual competitions with its porteño and *montevideano* counterparts in the early 1910s.<sup>96</sup> Given that all members of the Argentine “national” teams were drawn from the Pampas region, these Buenos Aires-Montevideo, Buenos Aires-Rosario, and Rosario-Montevideo matchups involved the country’s brightest soccer stars competing against each other in endless configurations. At I will emphasize in subsequent chapters, for porteño sportswriters “Argentine” soccer began and ended in the Pampas; it marked its boundaries in the south by La Plata, in the (relative) west by Buenos Aires, in the north by Rosario, and in the east by Montevideo.

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<sup>94</sup> “Más de 800 personas viajarán a Tucumán con los jugadores,” *El Liberal*, July 26, 1928, p. 5. 300 Tucumán fans made an identical trip to Santiago del Estero via Central Argentino’s special soccer trains in the 1923 edition of a different annual cup. See “En Santiago,” *Añatuya Deportiva y Social*, July 28, 1923.

<sup>95</sup> A fuller account of this shared history can be found in chapter five.

<sup>96</sup> The Copa Ibarguren was played between the club champions of the AAF and the Liga Rosarina. The Copa Aldao pitted the club champions of the AAF and the top-level Montevideo league (Asociación Uruguay de Football). The Reyna and Culacciati cups (this latter competition also known as Copa Rosario) were both played annually between combined teams from the AAF and the Liga Rosarina. Finally, the Copa Asociación Argentina, another combined-team competition, involved the Liga Rosarina and the Asociación Uruguay. See Iwanczuk, 374-376.

Effectively, the 1916 centennial celebrations<sup>97</sup> introduced porteño soccer physically to the rest of the country—to the Northwest, concretely. As part of celebratory events in Tucumán, local politicians set aside five thousand pesos to organize a tournament with porteño and *rosarino* teams.<sup>98</sup> The final product was a lavishly organized competition between all-star teams from Buenos Aires, Tucumán, Santiago del Estero, Salta, and Rosario.<sup>99</sup> The porteño and *rosarino* players, many of whom were habitual players on the “national team,” were well-known to soccer fans in the Northwest. The tournament, won in the end by the porteño team, proved a smashing success, shattering attendance records and marking a turning point in the history of Northwestern soccer. The appetite in the region for greater contact with porteño teams quickly became insatiable. The following year the nascent Federación Tucumana de Football solicited affiliation with the porteño Asociación Argentina de Football—a request granted under specific conditions explored in chapter two—and the Liga Santiagueña followed suit in 1918. The goal for the Northwestern officials was, principally, to increase contact with porteño institutions. The popularity of porteño stars would translate into ticket sales, which benefitted both organizing officials and the touring teams, between whom the sales were split.

The project, initially, proved difficult to implement. But the great unifying event for porteño-provincial soccer relations came in the unlikely form of an institutional crisis

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<sup>97</sup> These celebrations commemorated the definitive declaration of Argentine independence in 1816, signed in the northwestern city of Tucumán.

<sup>98</sup> Benejam, 70-71.

<sup>99</sup> Rather than dispatch a combined team, Rosario authorities sent the entire squad of Rosario Central, the city’s oldest and most popular club.

that in September of 1919 split the porteño AAF into two rival factions.<sup>100</sup> The schism—an interesting footnote in Argentine sports history in its own right—sent shockwaves throughout the South American soccer world,<sup>101</sup> but in Argentina it had the chief effect of catalyzing inter-institutional relationships between porteño and provincial soccer institutions. An arms race of sorts developed between the rival porteño leagues to build up coalitions of provincial supporters. Beginning in 1920, the year following the schism, both leagues moved quickly to capture provincial suitors. Never had soccer authorities in major and mid-sized provincial cities—Tucumán, Santiago del Estero, Mendoza, Corrientes, Salta, Resistencia, and the like—received so much attention from Pampas sports luminaries. *Tucumano* and *santiagueño* officials exacted lucrative tour deals from importuning porteño league authorities, bringing scores of Pampas teams the Argentine Northwest within a space of just a few years.

These were the golden years of inter-regional competitions, and the country would never see the like of them again. The Southern Hemisphere's winter of 1920 saw porteño clubs begin to crisscross the country in exhibition tours that served at once to cement institutional ties, increase profits, and provide spectacles for fans hungry for

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<sup>100</sup> To the dissident Asociación Amateurs de Football (AAmF) went nearly all of Buenos Aires' most popular and powerful clubs. The AAF, meanwhile, retained its prized FIFA affiliation. This affiliation was the key to the survival of the older league. It kept two teams of great popularity—Boca Juniors and Huracán—in the league along with the minnows that remained, gifting the two clubs almost exclusive access to the national team. After a year in the dissident league, the Liga Rosarina returned to the AAF, drawn, no doubt, by the possibility of contributing players to the national team for the 1921 Copa América, which Argentina would host. Boca Juniors, Huracán, and Rosario exclusively manned the Argentine national team between 1920 and 1926, much to the frustration of the AAmF, whose players were unable to participate until fusion in late 1926. The schism and fusion were covered extensively in all national and provincial papers of the time. By the end of the 1920s most large and medium sized Argentine cities supported two rival leagues, each affiliated with either the AAF or the AamF.

<sup>101</sup> Leagues in Chile (Santiago/Valparaíso) and Uruguay (Montevideo) both suffered splits in the wake of the porteño schism. Brazil's major leagues in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo also used the Argentine split to make new international alliances with the rival porteño leagues, perpetuating their own local rifts.



adversaries from beyond their usual regional competitive network. For the July 9 independence holiday that year the dissident league (AAmF) sent Racing de Avellaneda—thitherto the most successful and respected porteño club—on a hugely successful Northwestern tour to Tucumán and Santiago del Estero. The end of August saw the AAmF hosting the Federación Tucumana’s combined team in Buenos Aires, the first such visit of a Northwestern team to Buenos Aires.<sup>102</sup> And so it began. Between 1922 and 1931, the city of Tucumán alone hosted all of biggest teams from both of the top porteño leagues. Racing, River Plate, Independiente, San Lorenzo, Boca Juniors,<sup>103</sup> Lanús, Quilmes, Estudiantes de la Plata, Gimnasia de la Plata, Huracán, Vélez Sarsfield, and Platense—already the brightest stars in the porteño football firmament—toured Tucumán and Santiago del Estero *at least* once during the course of those ten years, playing multiple matches in each city. Porteño league records confirm the national scale of this interprovincial and/or interregional activity. To isolate one example from the detailed records preserved from both the AAF and the AAmF, the July 9, 1927, holiday weekend found Racing de Avellaneda in Corrientes, Boca Juniors in Tandil (Buenos Aires province), Ferrocarril Oeste in Bahía Blanca, Quilmes in Pergamino, Huracán in San Juan, Chacarita in Córdoba, Argentinos Juniors in Campana (BA province), Lanús in San Francisco (Córdoba), Estudiantes de la Plata in Pehuajó (BA province), Sportivo Palermo in Mendoza, and Platense in Junín (BA province). Between 1920 and 1930

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<sup>102</sup> See chapter three for a fuller account of this Tucumán tour to Buenos Aires—the first such visit of a Northwestern team to the national capital. Independiente Rivadavia of Mendoza was the first non-Pampas team to visit Buenos Aires, playing in the national capital in 1919.

<sup>103</sup> Of particular importance was an exhibition game played in 1926 in Tucumán between Boca Juniors and Rosario Central at the peak of Boca’s national popularity. See Benejam, 90-92. See also “Quince años de fútbol,” *La Gaceta*, December 25, 1929, p. 25, where the writer describes the Boca Juniors-Rosario Central match as “the biggest ever sports spectacle in the history of this city.”

River Plate alone visited Tucumán and Santiago del Estero (twice), Azul (BA province), Chascomús (BA province), Santa Fe, Córdoba, Mendoza, Mar del Plata, Bahía Blanca, and San Juan, among other destinations. Every major Pampas club registered a similar quantity of tours, with large provincial leagues repeating the feat on a local scale.

As Pampas teams fanned out to tour the major cities of the Argentine Interior, provincial leagues and clubs did the same on a regional, provincial, or local scale. In 1928 Santiago del Estero's Liga Cultural de Football organized matches in the Salta and Jujuy provinces, along with games in other *santiagueño* cities like Fernández, Frías, and Añatuya.<sup>104</sup> As with the large porteño clubs, provincial teams used national holidays as a catalyst for intense touring. July independence celebrations of 1923 saw numerous inter-town pairings taking place throughout the *santiagueño* countryside, among them La Banda-Fernández, Real Sayana-Icaño, Añatuya-Tostado (Santa Fe), La Banda-Ceres (Santa Fe), Añatuya-Quimilí, Añatuya-Herrera, Añatuya-Colonia Dora, Añatuya-Suncho Corral, Sáenz Peña-Avia Terai (Chaco), and Sumampa-Pinedo.<sup>105</sup> These examples, taken from just one available source in southeastern Santiago del Estero province, suggest the widespread scale of inter-town and inter-regional soccer play in the 1920s.

The most lucrative aspect of touring, from the perspective of league officials, was the promise of a cut from ticket sales. The viability of these tours, at any scale, became contingent on the willingness of fans from the Interior to pay premium prices to see faraway teams and players in live action. Therefore, the familiarity of local fans with visiting teams and players became the key to a profitable tour. The porteño-based

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<sup>104</sup>“La Liga y sus clubes sostuvieron 22 matches interprovinciales en 1928,” *El Liberal* 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary special edition, November 1928, p. 4.

<sup>105</sup> Matchups compiled from correspondent reports sent to *Añatuya Deportiva y Social* and published between July 7 and August 11, 1923.

“national” press—*La Nación*, *La Prensa*, *El Día*, *La Argentina*, *El Telégrafo*, *La República* and the like—played a central role in filling this knowledge gap. As a matter of course self-designated “national” publications centered their reporting almost exclusively on porteño (“national”) concerns; culture and information seemed to travel unidirectionally, fanning outward from the capital. Argentines in the Interior desirous of “national” press instead had to make do with Buenos Aires-centric porteño dailies in which the “provinces” occupied brief “roundup” capsules of political news in the same format as foreign news capsules, though occupying considerably less space. In the meantime the sports section inundated provincial readers with news, in the minutest of detail, about porteño and Pampas teams, scores, schedules, and players. And the fact that international games—the most prestigious and highly anticipated matches for all Argentine soccer fans—were contested only by Pampas players as the result of an arrangement discussed later in this dissertation focused attention even more heavily on players from the Buenos Aires area and from Rosario.

The national press had made porteño and *rosarino* players stars in the farthest corners of the republic before they ever set foot in the interior. With the enthusiastic collaboration of local sports reporters and provincial correspondents in the Pampas, soccer fans in Tucumán and Santiago del Estero memorized the lineups of San Lorenzo (Buenos Aires) or Newell’s Old Boys (Rosario). These were national team players. These were the stars and champions of the self-appointed “national” league in Buenos Aires. Their adventures abroad, like the 1925 tour of Europe by Boca Juniors, were front-page material in *La Gaceta* (Tucumán), *El Liberal* (Santiago del Estero), and La

*Voz del Interior* (Córdoba).<sup>106</sup> Later, meritorious performances of those Pampas teams on tours of the Interior simply served to reaffirm their fame. The early gravitation of soccer culture in the Interior toward porteño institutions could be seen in the countless small-town clubs in the interior that were named in homage to porteño clubs. In the 1912-1931 period the porteño club Huracán inspired twenty namesake clubs in Buenos Aires province alone, as well as four in Córdoba and Santa Fe, two in Corrientes, and others in La Pampa, Santa Cruz, Misiones, and Chubut territories. Racing de Avellaneda, winners of consecutive porteño championships between 1913 and 1919, gained namesake clubs as close as Olavarría (1916) and Pergamino (1918)—both medium-sized cities in Buenos Aires province—and as far away as Córdoba city (1924) and Trelew, Chubut (1920). Their cross-borough rivals Independiente inspired homonymous clubs in Neuquén (1921), Mar del Plata (1921), and Río Colorado, Río Negro (1924); similar patterns emerged for the likes of San Lorenzo and Boca Juniors throughout the 1920s.

Taking cues from the national press, provincial sports pages also kept fans in the Interior informed not just of scores but of the minute details of porteño players' lives. Human-interest sports stories in the national capital evoked the sympathy of provincial readers on a grand scale. *Añatuya Deportiva y Social* readers in little La Cañada (Santiago del Estero province), moved by the 1923 death of Racing's player Albérico Zavaleta, started a collection fund for his widow.<sup>107</sup> Two years later, when the *rosarino* national team player Ernesto Celli died of a freak illness, Tucumán's sports press

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<sup>106</sup> A special edition of *La Cancha* magazine observed the national fame of Boca Juniors as "one of the most popular and loved clubs not just in La Boca but in all of Argentina." *La Cancha*, April 5, 1930, p. 13. Boca Juniors' tours to the Argentine Northwest in 1926 and 1928 drew record attendances, suggesting the degree to which the sports press, both national and provincial, had cemented their fame.

<sup>107</sup> *Añatuya Deportiva y Social*, "De Cañada," November 3, 1923.

inundated readers with in-depth reporting and commemoration. And in 1926, when the *retired* Boca Juniors superstar Pedro Calomino fell ill in his Buenos Aires home, fans in the northeastern city of Resistencia led an initiative to play a benefit match that would involve all-star teams from Corrientes province as well as the Chaco territory.<sup>108</sup> The combined porteño and provincial press gave porteño soccer enjoyed such national celebrity that, in some case, new clubs in the provinces took the names of individual players. One legendary national team and Boca Juniors goalkeeper inspired the naming of Club Atlético Américo Tesorieri in the northwestern province of La Rioja (1926);<sup>109</sup> in similar fashion came the naming of Club Deportivo Jorge Gibson Brown in the northeastern territory (now province) of Misiones in 1916 and FC Roberto Cherro<sup>110</sup> in Rosario suburbs in 1927.<sup>111</sup>

Organized soccer in Argentina produced a sprawling network of institutional and sentimental attachments that transcended region. Taken as a whole—its various leagues interlocked across cities, provinces and regions; its clubs; its tournaments; its exhibition tours—soccer became a cultural practice of immense importance on all levels of Argentine society. No other spectacle, performance, or organized activity brought more

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<sup>108</sup> Defending the attention over a sick porteño player living over 600 miles to the south, the president of the eminent Resistencia club Chaco For Ever deemed Calomino “one of the treasures of South American soccer,” worthy of Chaco’s material aid.

<sup>109</sup> Club Deportivo Américo Tesorieri of Catamarca (northwestern Argentina) also paid tribute to Tesorieri with its naming in 1933.

<sup>110</sup> Club Atlético Roberto Cherro was a short-lived 5<sup>th</sup>-division club. “Def. de Rosario Central v. Robert Cherro,” *La Capital*, July 30, 1930, p. 12.

<sup>111</sup> Jorge Brown is considered one of the central figures of the first decades of Argentine soccer. He captained the national team and the legendary Alumni club during its years of dominance before retiring in 1914. The most comprehensive overview of his career and his influence is in Escobar Bavio, *Alumni*, 277-279. Roberto “Cherro” Cerro was an enormously popular national team and Boca Juniors player whose popularity peaked in the late 1920s. Until his record was broken in 2010, he was Boca Juniors all-time leading scorer, a record accrued between 1926 and 1938.

Argentines into physical or imagined contact with one another. As its popularity grew Argentine soccer exercised a culturally homogenizing effect that made a territorially massive nation-state feel smaller. And as soccer helped Argentines from all regions feel part of the same national culture, the terms *porteño* and *Argentine* became increasingly interchangeable. The Argentine sports press, alluded to throughout this chapter, played a crucial role in the nationalization of *porteño* culture, making Argentines across the country feel more united and interconnected than at any time before.

*The Spectacle of Soccer: Stadiums and the Mass Media (Path Four)*

The spectacle of sports is both physical and discursive. In the physical realm, tens of thousands of Argentines attended games weekly to support local clubs. Less frequently held but more massively attended were exhibition matches between combined teams, where stars from different clubs competed to defend league, city, or regional pride. Still less frequent—and more highly anticipated—were those international matches against foreign opponents. As instrumental as stadiums and soccer fields were in producing a corporeal exhibition for attending fans, hundreds of thousands more Argentines—those unable to witness matches in person—experienced the spectacle of soccer through the lens of the sports media.

In the 1910s and 1920s the written word was king of all media. In these days of largely experimental radio Argentine printed media reached unprecedented levels of circulation. The popularization of Argentine soccer coincided with and was itself reinforced by the popularization of the Argentine press. Argentine historians have chronicled the radical transformation of the Argentine press—daily and periodical—that took place between 1910 and 1925. Of the Argentine press in 1910, Claudia Rosa writes,

“The traditional newspapers of those days continued in a style originating in the previous century: a language with elevated, dry sounds and tone, with a thematic offering that excluded from view scandal and the problems of the poor.”<sup>112</sup> To these exclusions can be added the press’s only passing interest in expressions of popular culture, including sports.

After 1910 a new journalism emerged aimed at addressing the concerns and pastimes of the working class. Several explanations account for this development. On one hand, popular tabloid papers in the United States and Great Britain came to be greatly admired as a profitable business model. Within Argentina’s political landscape, a more inclusive political structure, exemplified by the 1912 Sáenz-Peña voting law that granted secret and obligatory suffrage to all Argentine men, did much to focus the concerns of the powerful on the Argentine working class.<sup>113</sup> The strident Argentine left wing, while dismissed as extremist agitators, also did its part to draw the attention of lawmakers and media moguls on the working class and on mass culture. In the wake of the new Sáenz-Peña law a core group of publishers moved to overhaul the format, tone, and content of printed media.

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<sup>112</sup>Claudia Rosa, “La literatura argentina durante los gobiernos radicales,” in *Nueva historia argentina: democracia, conflicto social y renovación de ideas, 1916-1930*, edited by Ricardo Falcón (Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudamericana, 1999): 396. Rosa also provides a brief list of the most emblematic exponents of this traditional, consolidated Argentine press: Buenos Aires’ *La Nación* (1870), *La Prensa* (1869), *La Razón* (1905), and *Caras y Caretas* (1898); Rosario’s *La Capital* (1867); Tucumán’s *La Gaceta* (1912); and Córdoba’s *La Voz del Interior* (1904). Along with Santiago del Estero’s *El Liberal* (1898), these papers figure prominently in this dissertation. See also Silvia Sáfta, “El periodismo popular en los años veinte,” in *Nueva historia argentina: democracia, conflicto social y renovación de ideas, 1916-1930*, edited by Ricardo Falcón (Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudamericana, 1999): 437-471; Carlos Ulanovsky, *Parén las rotativas: Diarios, revistas y periodistas (1920-1969)* (Buenos Aires: Emecé, 2005); Ricardo Sidicaro, *La política mirada desde arriba: Las ideas del diario La Nación, 1909-1989* (Buenos Aires: Sudamericana, 1993); and William G. Acree, Jr., *Everyday Reading: Print Culture and Collective Identity in the Río de la Plata, 1780-1910* (Nashville, Tenn.: Vanderbilt University Press, 2011).

<sup>113</sup>Eminent Argentine history Tulio Halperín Donghi has called the pre-1912 Argentine political and social system a “monarchy disguised as a Republic.” See Halperín Donghi, *Vida y muerte de la República verdadera (1910-1930)* (Buenos Aires: Emecé, 1999), 37.

The porteño daily *Crítica*, established in 1913, exemplified the changes in format and content that began to spread throughout much of the Argentine press between 1910 and 1930. *Crítica* ditched the old French daily model that placed 16-plus pages of classifieds and advertising at the front of the paper, embracing instead a splashy American-style front page. The porteño paper also switched out the ubiquitous upper-class columnists culled from the Argentine aristocracy for professional staff writers, many of them young. The tone of the paper changed accordingly. While still focused on national politics, *Crítica* and its peers<sup>114</sup> proudly flaunted their independence from specific political parties or administrations, defying what had been the general trend in decades prior. The new cadre of reporters, bringing with them a change in tone, brought to newspaper copy an unprecedented, merry irreverence toward establishment figures.<sup>115</sup> The new journalism dripped with sarcasm and colloquial language. A tendency toward high-impact rhetoric and visuals accompanied this change in tone. Drawings, cartoons, and photographs occupied more page space, and pages multiplied to accommodate the topics seen to interest a broader spectrum of Argentines: crime, humor, and, of course, sports.

By the beginning of the 1920s sports sections had become a standard feature in newspapers throughout the transatlantic world. W.P. Brazell of the *New York World* is said to have noted in 1929 that “no single classification of news” attracted readers more

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<sup>114</sup>In Buenos Aires, *Crítica* (1913), *Última Hora* (1908), *La Mañana* (1911), *El Mundo* (1928), and *La República* (1918) are notable examples. In Tucumán, *El Orden* (1883). In Córdoba, *Los Principios* (1894). In Santa Fe, *El Litoral* (1908). And in Santiago del Estero, *Santiago* (1906).

<sup>115</sup> See Sylvia Sáitta, *Regueros de tinta: El diario Crítica en la década de 1920* (Buenos Aires: Ediciones Sudamericana, 1998); and Rosa, 396.



than the sports section.<sup>116</sup> Historian David Welky has written that by 1930 in the United States, “most men who read the newspaper read the sports section every day. Its popularity and importance as a circulation builder led editors to assign many of their best writers to the sports department.”<sup>117</sup> This was no doubt true in Argentina as well; publishers augmented sports coverage as a way to attract new readers. In Buenos Aires chronicles of modern sports events had existed since the 1880s. First in Anglo-Argentine papers like *The Standard* (f. 1861) or the *Buenos Aires Herald* (1876), and later in aristocratic Argentine papers like *La Nación* and *El Día* (La Plata, 1884), chroniclers approached organized soccer as the elite society events that they were. However, as the porteño leagues grew in popularity during the first decades of the twentieth century newspapers began to report regularly on the weekend’s matches. Around 1910 *La Argentina* became the first Argentine daily to offer a dedicated sports page,<sup>118</sup> where soccer vied for attention with horse- and auto racing. *Crítica*’s rise to fame was linked to its decision to offer an outsized sports section with a particular focus on soccer, a sport well on its way toward becoming a working-class passion without peer. Decades later, the reporter and former player Juan José de Souza Reilly would remember *Crítica*’s

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<sup>116</sup> David Welky, *Everything was better in America: Print Culture in the Great Depression* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2008), 45.

<sup>117</sup> Ibid.

<sup>118</sup> Founded in 1907, *La Argentina* prided itself on being “the first modern newspaper founded in South America,” as it boasted in its motto. “Modern” in this sense referred principally to layout, as very early on *La Argentina* did away with the interminable classified ads that most traditional newspapers included before the news. Its sleek, concise format and art deco esthetic was the exception of the 1910. Particularly attuned to American newspapers, *La Argentina* began its dedicated sports page in the early 1910s. As the heading printed on every single sports page reminded readers, *La Argentina* was “the news daily that had founded Argentine soccer and popularized the sport [throughout] the entire country.” A later version of this daily heading (the previous one corresponded to pre-1920 years) stated that *La Argentina*, more than any other newspaper, was the daily that had “done the most to foment sport in [the history of] the Republic.”

fateful decision to place soccer on a journalistic pedestal. “Dedicate an entire page to soccer,” a newsie told founder Natalio Botana, “and *Crítica* will go through the roof.”<sup>119</sup> Botana acceded, applying the full weight of *Crítica*’s characteristic mixture of energy, wit, and, occasionally, impertinence, to its soccer reporting. Sales skyrocketed, and other papers were quick to follow suit.

A similar transformation took place in *El Gráfico*, a foundational Argentine sports magazine launched in 1919. While not the oldest<sup>120</sup> sports-specific periodical to appear in Argentina—in Buenos Aires *El Gráfico* was preceded by or coincided with *Sportman*, *Mister Bull*, *Sport Ilustrado*, *La Ilustración Deportiva*, and *La Cancha*, to a few—it was the most influential, and by far the most durable.<sup>121</sup> Initially the magazine’s publishers at Editorial Atlántida positioned the magazine as a general-interest magazine with an emphasis on theater, cinema, and leisure. Sports, while always present in the magazine, received dramatically increased coverage with the series of championship boxing matches involving heavyweight Luis Firpo in 1923, and Uruguay’s Olympic gold medal in soccer in 1924. Readers’ hunger for reporting on the 1925 Boca Juniors tour of Europe confirmed the magazine’s director’s decision to focus entirely on sports. In one

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<sup>119</sup> This account first appeared in Juan José Souza Reilly, “Recuerdos de fútbol del tiempo Viejo,” in Chaponick, 2:72-76. It was also recounted by Silvia Saítta in “Fútbol y prensa en los años veinte: Natalio Botana, presidente de la Asociación Argentina de Football (febrero-agosto de 1926),” *Efdeportes.com Revista Digital* 8, no. 50 (July 2002), available at <http://www.efdeportes.com/efd50/botana.htm> (accessed December 2012).

<sup>120</sup> While ignoring nascent modern team sports, at least two publications existed as early as 1887 that offered articles about “fencing, shooting, swimming, skating, cycling, rowing, riding, footracing, etc.”: *La Fuerza* and *Sportman*. See “Diarios y periódicos de la República Argentina,” in *Anuario bibliográfico de la República Argentina*, vol. 9 (Buenos Aires: Imp. De M. Biedma, 1888), p. 18, 21.

<sup>121</sup> In 1999 Eduardo Archetti wrote that *El Gráfico* the sports weekly that “has had and still has the greatest influence on Argentina . . . There’s no doubt about its decisive influence in the construction of different areas of moral, masculine thought.” See Archetti, 58. The magazine is still published today, though since 2002 it is published as a monthly, and its hegemonic role in Argentine sports journalism has been somewhat diminished by other firmly established competitors.

unusually candid column in 1925, editors spoke openly about the decision, noting how the exclusive focus on sports had doubled its circulation over the course of 1925.<sup>122</sup>

As sports publications flooded the Argentine periodicals market in the 1920s competitors found new ways to attract a readership and foster a sense of community among core readers. *Crítica* cultivated unusually sympathetic relationships with club and league officials to gain access to players and breaking news. The special relationship between *Crítica* and Boca Juniors, for instance, converted the porteño daily into a virtual mouthpiece for the club. The head of sports for *Crítica* from 1922 on, Hugo Marini, played a central role in planning Boca Juniors' legendary 1925 tour of Europe, one of the landmark events in Argentine soccer history.<sup>123</sup> In addition to championing Boca Juniors to tour sponsors as the ideal club for a Europe tour, Marini exercised enormous control in the selection of participating players for the tour.<sup>124</sup> In the end Marini accompanied the

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<sup>122</sup> *El Gráfico*, November 14, 1925. Although on this occasion the magazine declined to divulge its statistics, it has since been documented Eduardo Archetti that by the late 1920s *El Gráfico* circulated over 100,000 copies weekly. See Archetti, *Masculinities*, 89-90. In like fashion, one major paper in Tucumán reported an explosion in circulation due to increased sports coverage. "La información deportiva de El Orden," *El Orden*, April 28, 1928.

<sup>123</sup> Julio Frydenberg, "Boca Juniors en Europa: El diario *Crítica* y el primer nacionalismo deportivo argentino," *História: Questões & Debates* [Curitiba, Brazil] 39 (2003): 118-119. See also Sylvia Sáitta, *Regueros de tinta: El diario Crítica en la década de 1920* (Buenos Aires: Ediciones Sudamericana, 1998), 96-97.

<sup>124</sup> As was common practice at the time, to adequately represent Argentine soccer abroad AAF officials reinforced Boca with other players from Buenos Aires and Rosario. Marini handpicked Manuel Seoane (from El Porvenir), Cesáreo Onzari (Huracán), Octavio Díaz (Rosario Central), Luis Vaccaro (Argentinos Juniors), and Roberto Cochrane (Tiro Federal de Rosario) as reinforcements for that legendary 1925 tour, during which Seoane and Onzari served as leading scorers. The porteño reinforcements were notified of their selection via *Crítica*, which in its evening edition published a notice summoning the players to *Crítica's* offices to share with them the news. The highlighted capsule read, "Seoane, Vaccaro, and Onzari: In our headquarters there is important information for you receive, at any cost, this very afternoon. You may come by between 6 and 6:30pm." See *Crítica*, January 17, 1925, p. 14. For Marini's account, see "Cuando nuestro fútbol visitó otras canchas del mundo," in Chaponick, 1: 137-147. Marini gave an earlier version of his involvement in the Boca tour in, "Creo en Boca Juniors," *La Cancha*, February 14, 1931, p. 7, as part of a special magazine edition dedicated entirely to the porteño neighborhood of La Boca.

team on its tour—the only correspondent to do so—acting as a club delegate abroad while sending lengthy, exclusive dispatches for publication back home.

Years later Marini would describe his relationship with Boca as sentimental rather than professional. However, his intimate relationship with that specific team was likely dictated by his boss, *Crítica* director Natalio Botana, who himself cultivated extraordinarily close ties to the AAF, the porteño league to which Boca was affiliated.<sup>125</sup> In sports journalism of the era this was the rule rather than the exception. The director of *Última Hora*—a direct competitor of *Crítica*'s—was one Miguel Angel Dos Reis, the vice president of the AAF, who traveled with AAF clubs and combined teams on tours, overlapping between official and journalist.<sup>126</sup> In all, the sports section heads of major provincial and porteño newspapers such as *El Orden* (Tucumán), *La Prensa*, *La Nación*, *El Liberal* (Santiago del Estero), *La Montaña*, *Sport Ilustrado*, *Los Principios* (Córdoba), *La Mañana*, *El Mundo*, and *La Gaceta* (Tucumán) all doubled as league officials during their sports section tenures.<sup>127</sup> As it turned out, of the most circulated periodicals and

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<sup>125</sup> Botana even served as interim president of the AAF for several months in 1926. See Saítta, “Fútbol y prensa.”

<sup>126</sup> Ironically, Marini's *Crítica* sports section condemned the undue influence of Dos Reis as an AAF high official and as director of the *Última Hora* sports section. See “Pasándole la mano,” *Crítica*, June 7, 1922, p. 8.

<sup>127</sup> Those sports section directors were, in order, José Avellaneda (*El Orden*), Juan Bonín and Alfredo Enrique Rossi (*La Prensa*), Luis Carlini (*La Nación*), Augusto de Muro (*La Nación* and *Sport Ilustrado*), Juan Figueroa (*El Liberal*), Angel Escobar Bavio (*La Montaña*), Salvador Martínez (*Los Principios*), Salustiano González (*La Mañana* and *El Mundo*), and Miguel Pérez Turner (*La Gaceta*). A host of other prominent sports writers and journalists in both Buenos Aires and the Interior, including Eduardo Abella Caprile, Francisco Belgeri, Atilio Casime, Pablo Emilio Daneri, Juan Dellacasa, Ernesto Escobar Bavio, Carlos Mas, and Antonio Palacio Zino, overlapped club or league duties with “objective” reporting. By the same token, equally worthy of mention are those sports journalists who, as far as this writer's research can show, remained free of institutional affiliations. The list of the most prominent and popular such examples includes Bernabé Araoz, Angel Bohigas, Cesar de Madrid, Manuel “Manu” Espinosa, Felix Frascara, Santiago Grinspan, Roberto Levillier, Ricardo Lorenzo (“Borocotó”), Pablo Rojas Paz (“El Negro de la Tribuna”), Máximo Sáenz (“Last Reason” and “A Rienda Suelta”), and Guillermo Salazar Altamira (“Dinty Moore”). See Appendix A, “Known Argentine Sports Journalists and Institutional Ties, 1912-1931,” for more details.

dailies only *El Gráfico*, *La Cancha*, *La Argentina*, and *La República* remained untainted by institutional conflicts of interest.<sup>128</sup> The profoundly entwined interests of sports journalists and local sports institutions made for good reading, to be sure. Scoops and exclusive interviews with certain players abounded in the Argentine sports press, but so did the rancid reek of crass partisanship. Such conflicts of interest not only skewed reporting, but also yanked public opinion bodily in the direction desired by higher powers. To invoke one particularly prominent example, Boca Juniors ended the 1920s as Argentina's most popular club—a distinction it still holds today—not solely because of its scintillating play on the field, but because of the efforts of the likes of *Crítica* and *Última Hora* off the field.

For the Argentine sports media, institutional partisanship did serve to consolidate the alliance of readers based on club or league sympathies. Even so, other methods proved more effective toward building a loyal readership from the ground up. Lively, imaginative writing was central toward that endeavor. Natalio Botana handpicked *Crítica* staff writers based not on their expertise in sports, but because of the quality of their prose. A number of beloved *Crítica* writers, such as Pablo Rojas Paz (“Negro de la Tribuna”) and Máximo Sáenz (“Last Reason”), became household names, beloved for their imaginative style and piquant prose, contrasting with the dry, straight-forward “chronicles” of their predecessors in the genre. And in the late 1920s *El Gráfico* writers Ricardo Lorenzo and Alfredo Enrique Rossi married sports knowledge and literary acumen to great effect. Even *La Nación*, that elder statesman of Argentine journalism, entered the fray with the journalistic emergence of Guillermo Salazar Altamira (“Dinty

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<sup>128</sup> Ibid.

Moore”), who would gain literary immortality in Argentina based on his genre-bending prose in the sports section. Within as little as two decades these men would be remembered for elevating sports journalism to the realm of literature, taking their place alongside the other avant-garde Argentine writers cutting their teeth in the popular press during the 1920s and early 1930s.<sup>129</sup> Collectively they would debate and define Argentine national identity, disseminating their opinions throughout their far-flung republic on the wings of the most widely read genre of print media.

An examination of the era’s more precarious sports periodicals—*Mister Bull* (f. 1920), *Sport Ilustrado* (1922), *La Ilustración Deportiva* (1924), and, initially, *La Cancha* (1928)—shows the lengths to which editors went to one-up competitors in a cutthroat environment. Antonio Palacio Zino, who founded *Mister Bull* while still in charge of the *Crítica* sports page, attempted to build an early leadership by taking the impertinent tones of *Crítica* to a new level. Early on he provoked a scandal from which he was unable to recover—one that cost him his job at *Crítica*<sup>130</sup>—and despite efforts to diversify the magazine’s topics by covering theater and film gossip, the magazine folded after only fourteen months. Augusto de Muro’s *Sport Ilustrado* and Angel Escobar Bavio’s *La Ilustración Deportiva*, other ephemeral periodicals from the early 1920s, sought to engage the public through massive photographic spreads and attempts to interact with readers through surveys and contests. However, only José López Pájaros’s *La Cancha* was ultimately able to survive the dominance of *El Gráfico*, publishing weekly issues between 1928 and 1956. Cheap, voluminous, and nationalistic, *La Cancha* marketed

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<sup>129</sup> These figures include Enrique and Raúl González Tuñón, Carlos de la Púa, Roberto Arlt, and, of course, Jorge Luis Borges.

<sup>130</sup> Chapter four of this dissertation offers an account of this episode

itself explicitly toward a working-class readership as a whole, combining the in-depth coverage of *El Gráfico* with the wild populism of *Crítica*. *La Cancha* paperboys canvassed the stands of major soccer matches, where they sold more copies than at newsstands. Playful multipage interviews with popular players opened every issue; a centerfold set of cartoons replete with lasciviousness and double entendre also accompanied each issue. However, where *La Cancha* proved most successful was in the realm of interactivity with readers. The magazine set aside generous space for fans from across the country to address each other directly, week after week, about starting lineups, club rivalries, and league gossip. *La Cancha* also sponsored hugely popular dances during Carnival, where readers mingled with star players. And the paper perpetually solicited freelance correspondents “from all over the Republic” to send reports of local gossip to the editorial offices in Buenos Aires. The ability of sports publications to survive a crowded market depended largely how creatively they interacted with their reading audience.

While the written word was king, publications and reporters availed themselves of new technologies to more widely disseminate their product. To begin with, photographs occupied more and more page space as the twenties progressed; the advent of the wirephoto in the early part of that decade allowed Argentine sports papers to receive images overnight from matches played abroad, resulting in the proliferation of photography in both magazines and dailies. Radiotelephony (two-way radio), nascent radio networks, high-speed telegraphy, telephones, and combinations of these technologies enhanced readers’ experiences in a variety of ways. *Crítica* scored a media coup when in 1924 it secured an exclusive telephone line at the press box at the Sporting

Barracas stadium, where the Argentine national team played most of its matches. Now sideline reporters phoned events directly to the *Crítica* office as they transpired, allowing for instant updates printed in progressively greater detail in fifth, sixth, and seventh editions.<sup>131</sup> In Buenos Aires during the 1928 Olympic Games held in Amsterdam, several papers installed massive bullhorns on their office balconies, as seen in Figure 1, through which reporters relayed updates received via radio or telegraph as the crowd waited with bated breath. Bells, fireworks, or trumpets sounded to mark the scoring of a goal with word subsequently spreading throughout the city by word of mouth, block by block. Identical scenes could be seen in provincial capitals when local teams played major matches in Buenos Aires, with reporters bellowing updates received from the capital to expectant crowds below. In Santiago del Estero, after Antonio Castiglione heard native sons Segundo Luna and Alberto Helman interviewed via radio upon their arrival from Amsterdam, he transcribed the exchanges verbatim for the next morning's edition of *El Liberal*. He also would have telegraphs sent to friends and papermen in other santiagueño cities, where they would be republished in smaller periodicals like *Añatuya Deportiva y Social*. Newspaper reached the hands of countless hundreds of thousands of Argentines daily, but the newspaper offices themselves served as a major physical gathering point as sports news was disseminated vocally on the spot and transmitted to other parts of the city and country.

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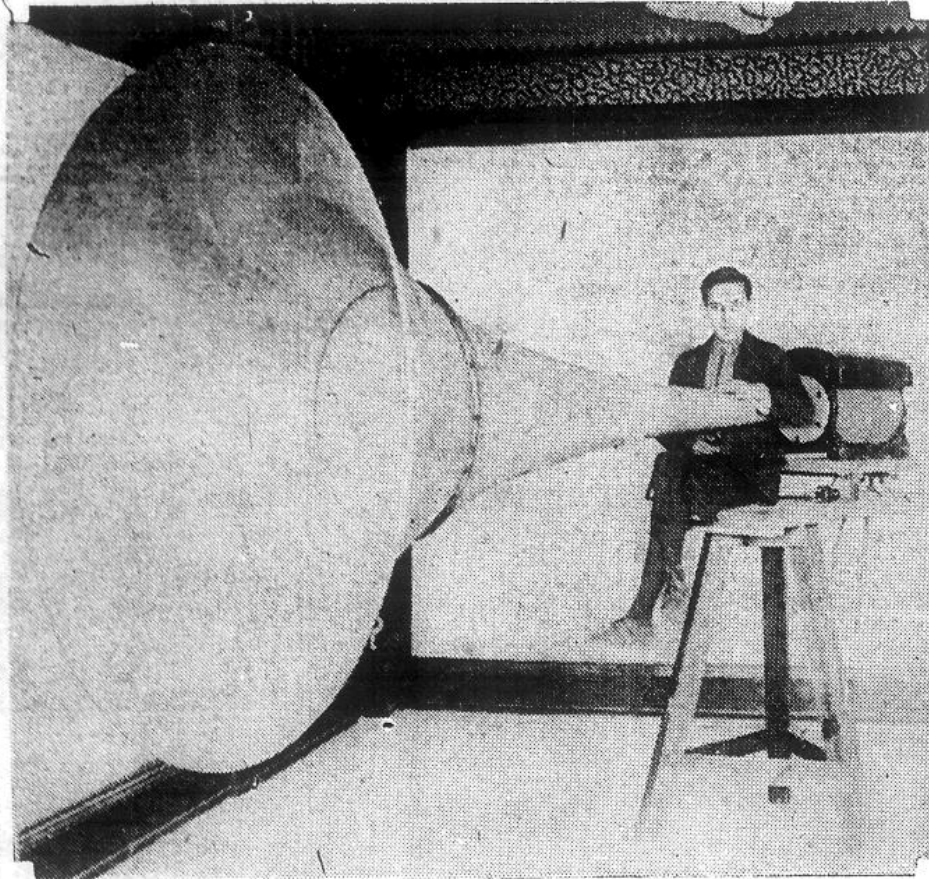
<sup>131</sup> The earliest live sports broadcasts were delivered in this fashion, with radio stations tapped directly into telephone or radiotelephony receptors back at the news offices.



# CRITICA Transmitió Ayer el Match y el Partido de Football

UN ENORME GENTIO SE CONGREGO EN LA AVENIDA PARA ESCUCHAR NUESTRA INFORMACION

Mañana lo hará en el match, olímpico Chile-Portugal



UNO DE LOS ALTOS parlantes de CRITICA

CRITICA inauguró ayer con buen éxito los poderosos altoparlantes colocados en el frente de su edificio y que en adelante informarán eficazmente al público, de los acontecimientos deportivos más importantes.

Por medio de teléfonos directos instalados en la cancha de Independiente y en el ring side de River Plate, nuestros cronistas deportivos transmitían todos los detalles de los dos grandes acontecimientos del día, detalles que eran de inmediato retras-

mitidos por medio de los altoparlantes, los más potentes construidos hasta ahora y que permitían seguir la información en casi toda la extensión de la Avenida de Mayo, repleta de público.

Frente a nuestro edificio, el público se congregó en gran número desde las 15 horas y fue aumentando su número constantemente a tal extremo que más tarde quedó totalmente interrumpido el tráfico en la Avenida donde más de 2.000 perso-

nas seguían con extraordinario interés las incidencias del partido de football, primero, y las de la pelea de Cárpolo y Monte Munn, después.

Mañana transmitiremos desde nuestros balcones el desarrollo del partido de football entre Chile y Portugal, con el que se inicia el torneo olímpico de football.

Figure 1. "One of the *Crítica*'s loudspeakers," *Crítica*, May 26, 1928, p.3. In addition to printing hundreds of thousands of paper copies daily, it was also common for newspaper offices such as *Crítica*'s to transmit live radio commentary of international soccer matches to crowds gathered outside the paper's headquarters. Loudspeakers such as the one pictured above helped convert the physical location of the press into a gathering place of great social significance.

Historical records suggest that the vast majority of sports-specific publications in early twentieth-century Argentina were porteño. Provincial dailies offered lengthy sports sections, but because of the lack of historical catalogues in many provincial capitals, it remains unclear how many sports-specific periodicals existed in the Argentine Interior. One tantalizing exception was the earlier-mentioned *Añatuya Deportiva y Social* of the southeastern Santiago del Estero province, handily preserved for historians by one of the provincial capital's major archives. Lacking access to prohibitively expensive wire services, for news this magazine's publishers depended entirely on contacts at *El Liberal* in the provincial capital, who telegraphed the *Añatuya* publishers regularly with short summaries of key sports events. The magazine's publishers also relied on an impressive network of contributors located in all corners of the Santiago del Estero province, as well as in the provincial capitals of Santa Fe, Tucumán, Córdoba, and Corrientes, not to mention smaller cities throughout Salta and Chaco territory.<sup>132</sup> While *Añatuya Deportiva y Social* reported a 1923 circulation of just over 1,000, the readership was certainly much higher. For many working-class Argentines in the provinces the cost of printing locally made print media prohibitively expensive. The result would have been a communally held publication intended to be passed around specific community circles. Municipal and community libraries also played an important role in this respect. One of *Añatuya*'s moderately sized libraries proudly reported receiving weekly shipments containing comprehensive back issues of fifteen newspapers from Santiago del Estero, Buenos Aires, Rosario, Tucumán, Córdoba, La Rioja, Santa Fe, Salta, and the territory of La Pampa, as well as full collections of several premium porteño magazines, including *El*

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<sup>132</sup> The magazine received regular news from Tostado (Santa Fe), Balnearia (Córdoba), Makallé (Chaco), Sáenz Peña (Chaco), Avia Terai (Chaco), and Metán (Salta).

*Gráfico*.<sup>133</sup> There can be no doubt that the Argentine sports press reached many more readers than official circulation statistics could possibly indicate.<sup>134</sup>

Just the same, it is well documented that for some prominent porteño newspapers such as *Crítica*, *La Prensa* and *La Nación* circulation began to exceed 300,000 copies each in the late 1920s.<sup>135</sup> For its part *El Gráfico* circulated over 100,000 weekly copies in the late 1920s.<sup>136</sup> And general-interest weeklies like *Mundo Argentino* and *El Hogar*, both of which carried sports sections, had already by 1920 neared 150,000 weekly copies sold, allowing a non-specialized reading public to familiarize itself with the world of organized soccer.<sup>137</sup> The market for sports media demanded the instant reporting of sports events, creating five, six, or sometimes seven daily editions of newspapers. These circulation numbers attest to the high literacy of working-class Argentina and the growing market for popular literature, a phenomenon well documented in historical scholarship.<sup>138</sup> Even more importantly, during the 1920s volume of circulation for sports media stood unmatched among any other genre of the day's printed media. Collectively it occupied a unique position to define and propagate specific articulations of Argentine national identity, particularly in the realm of race.

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<sup>133</sup> *Añatuya Deportiva y Social*, June 2, 1923.

<sup>134</sup> This no doubt held true for premium Pampas periodicals like *Caras y Caretas*, *El Gráfico*, and *Mundo Argentino*.

<sup>135</sup> Safta, *Regueros de tinta*, 49; Carlos Ulanovsky, *Parén las rotativas: Historia de los grandes diarios, revistas y periodistas argentinos* (Buenos Aires: Espasa, 1997), 31-32, 38. See also *Crítica*, December 24, 1925, p. 2; and September 8, 1927, p. 3, for additional circulation statistics.

<sup>136</sup> Achetti, *Masculinidades*, 89-90

<sup>137</sup> María Paula Bontempo, "La trayectoria de Constancio Cecilio Vigil antes de la fundación de Editorial Atlántida (1904-1918)." Unpublished article, 2007: 12.

<sup>138</sup> Ulanovsky, 31-38. See also Beatriz Sarlo, *Una modernidad periférica: Buenos Aires 1920 y 1930* (Buenos Aires: Ediciones Nueva Visión, 1988), 18, 20.

## CONCLUSION

It is difficult to discern where soccer benefitted from the growth of a larger popular press and where public devotion for the sport fueled the press's growth itself. What is certain is that by 1930, soccer was deeply ingrained in Argentine society, both as a spectacle and as a physical practice. Thousands played it, tens of thousands watched it weekly, and hundreds of thousands read about it daily. Argentines from all parts of the country, from all regions, took cues from the sports press regarding the boundaries and meanings of Argentine national identity. By erasing regional boundaries and disseminating a nationally shared sense of provenance and destiny soccer made the nation's vast expanse seem infinitely smaller. The more representatively "Argentine" the players, clubs, and leagues became, the more Argentines identified with the people and events occurring on the soccerfield. Arguably, no other institution, event or performance of the time transgressed so many regional boundaries and brought so many Argentineans into contact—corporeal or imagined—with one another.

One sign of the nationalization of soccer culture in Argentina was the increasing devotion for the national team among provincial readers and players. No institution seemed so utterly representative of popular Argentine culture. Players from as far away Santiago del Estero<sup>139</sup> and Formosa declared the hypothetical opportunity to play on the national team—a near-certain impossibility for provincial players—their life's "crowning glory."<sup>140</sup> Despite the fact that the Argentine national team could be described as a Pampas all-star team in disguise, by the 1920s a universalized sentiment was already in place in which nation came before region, and in which the national soccer team was the

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<sup>139</sup> *El Liberal*, July 19, 1928, p. 5; *La Argentina*, December 11, 1927, p. 10.

<sup>140</sup> *La Cancha*, July 6, 1929, p. 18.

ultimate opportunity to physically commune with one's Argentineness on the soccer field. Soccer and the institution of the national team played a significant role in making porteño things national while simultaneously making Argentines of different stripes feel Argentine. Provincial players could not help but to long for participation in the national team. Yet it was this longing for symbolic immersion into a powerful representation of Argentine nationhood, and Buenos Aires' purposeful denial of that yearning, that set the stage for interregional conflict. Buenos Aires suffered no rival when it came to control over soccer institutions. It invented, institutionalized, and exercised complete control over the national team. The capital city's teams dominated the national sports press and monopolized opportunities to play against visiting European teams, sowing for themselves exclusive glories in the name of the nation. Its predominance in soccer set the stage for conflict, institutional and discursive, replaying the old political, economic, and cultural clashes that had existed since Independence—clashes in which anything but a Buenos Aires victory was inconceivable.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **NATIONAL (DIS)INTEGRATION: THE REGIONALIZED STRUGGLE TO CONTROL ARGENTINE SOCCER INSTITUTIONS**

This chapter is an in-depth analysis of how Buenos Aires officials and entrepreneurs acquired, exercised, and maintained control over Argentina's most rich and powerful soccer institutions, including the ever-important national team. Drawing from press and institutional sources centered in both Buenos Aires and the Argentine Northwest, in this chapter I argue that even as many Argentines celebrated the spread of soccer institutions as a harbinger of national cohesion, the process of interregional integration brought longstanding inter-regional tensions to the fore. Much of this conflict centered on the Buenos Aires-based Argentine “national” soccer team. Considered during the time to be among the most powerful symbols of Argentine identity, the Argentine national team had been manned by porteño players and controlled by the porteño elite since the 1890s. Beginning in the 1920s, however, voices in the Argentine Northwest and other regions began demanding the decentralization of the national team institution—a call ultimately rejected by Buenos Aires agents.

#### **Regionalized Inequality in Argentine History**

During the majority of Spanish-American colonialism Buenos Aires had been colonial hinterland. Spanish colonial operations in South America focused on the mineral riches of the Andean region, half a continent away from the Río de la Plata. As

the Andes were also home to imperialist Spain's greatest source of human labor in South America—the Quechua- and Aymara-speaking peoples of the Andes—Spanish colonization of South America commenced in present-day Peru and spread outward. Northern Argentine cities like Salta, Tucumán, Santiago del Estero, and Córdoba emerged as thriving centers of commerce and culture centuries earlier than Buenos Aires, to say nothing of cities like Lima, Quito, La Paz, and Potosí.

The fortunes of the port city on the margins of empire changed drastically in the second half of the eighteenth century. Declining mining revenues in the Andes and the growing value of certain Rioplatine agricultural products—tallow, dried beef, and leather—coincided with an imperial effort to decentralize colonial power from Lima. With the creation the new viceroyalty of the La Plata in 1776 Buenos Aires was suddenly catapulted from provincial backwater into the viceregal seat. By the end of the eighteenth century Buenos Aires was well on its way to becoming the political, economic, demographic, and cultural capital of territories comprising today's Argentina, Bolivia, Paraguay, and Uruguay. Buenos Aires' claim to regional political hegemony was damaged somewhat by independence from Spain and the subsequent breakup of the viceroyalty into several independent republics.<sup>1</sup> Even so, by the time the dust had settled porteños had successfully used their growing economic might to cement Buenos Aires' place as the capital of the nascent republic.

Even though regional leaders in the far-flung Argentine provinces grudgingly recognized the predominance of Buenos Aires in agreed-upon confederate affairs, they

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<sup>1</sup>Self-rule did not come to Asunción and La Paz without a fight, however, and Paraguayans and Bolivians prevailed in their own independence battles against Buenos Aires. For its part, Montevideo and much of Uruguay remained part of the early Argentine nation-state until its independence in 1830. Chapter three of this dissertation discusses the shared history of Argentina and Uruguay in great depth.

conceived of the nation just so: as a federation of equally independent and sovereign states.<sup>2</sup> Buenos Aires' administrative power over the provinces had been a relatively recent development. The Enlightenment-era Bourbon Reforms, responsible for the creation of the La Plata viceroyalty mentioned above, could not erase 150 years of relative autonomy for northern Argentine provinces. For porteños, on the other hand, 50 heady years as the vice-regal capital had made it irresistible for them to imagine their new republic in anything but the terms of the recent colonial past: at best, an assortment of provinces dependent on the port capital in all matters economic and political, and at worst, a miserable collection of "thirteen straw huts"<sup>3</sup> masquerading as administrative districts.

These irreconcilable versions of statehood proved the sparking point for the 50 years of chaotic internecine conflict that followed Argentine independence. Porteño intellectuals and statesmen, on one hand, advanced their dream of a liberal republic centralized, naturally, in Buenos Aires.<sup>4</sup> Provincial Argentines, ideologically and

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<sup>2</sup>Although these "states" were known as *provincias*, the name is misleading, particularly given the aspirations of provincial leaders. Chiamonte explains that rather than denoting administrative division of a larger country, the Spanish colonial term *provincia* was used interchangeably with "pueblo" or "ciudad." Ultimately, the term *provincia* indicated that the place in question constituted a regional component of the old Viceroyalty of La Plata. Buenos Aires, also referred to into the provinces as Río de la Plata, was simply, in this sense, one of many others. See José Carlos Chiamonte, "El federalismo argentino en la primera mitad del siglo XIX," in *Federalismos latinoamericanos: México/Brasil/Argentina*, ed. Marcello Carmagnani (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1993), 94-95.

<sup>3</sup> While of apocryphal origins, this description of the Argentine Interior by porteño politicians was widely accepted as historical by the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. See Alberto R. Letteri, *La construcción de la República de la Opinión: Buenos Aires frente al Interior en la década de 1850* (Buenos Aires: Prometeo, 2006), 136; and Vicente Gonzalo Massot, *La excepcionalidad argentina: Auge y ocaso de una nación* (Buenos Aires: Emecé, 2005), 123.

<sup>4</sup>The Buenos Aires-based political movement is known in Argentine historiography as "unitarians," suggestive of their end goal of unifying the country under the power of Buenos Aires. The intellectual movement providing the written guidance and theories for this movement is known as the "Generation of [18]37." It included, ironically, not a few notable participants born in the Northwestern provinces, disaffected children of the provincial elite, such as Domingo Faustino Sarmiento of San Juan and Juan Bautista Alberdi of Tucumán.



somewhat confusingly known as “federalists,”<sup>5</sup> pursued their vision of a non-centralized confederation of equal provinces.<sup>6</sup> Decades of small-scale conflict finally culminated in 1852 with outright warfare and the establishment of two parallel nation-states: that of the province of Buenos Aires and that of the Confederación Argentina, pitting all existing provinces against the port city. The confederate forces created Argentina’s first enduring constitution—Buenos Aires’ refusal to ratify it was a central point of contention—and established its capital in Paraná, the river city in Entre Ríos province located some 250 miles north of Buenos Aires. After nearly a decade of diplomatic and military standoff, the porteño army triumphed decisively over its provincial opponents in the Battle of Pavón and bent the rest of the provinces to its will.<sup>7</sup> In 1860 Buenos Aires became the provisional national capital by special degree. Twenty years later, in 1880, under the guidance of President Nicolás Avellaneda, Congress ratified Buenos Aires as the federal capital of the Argentine Republic.

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<sup>5</sup>In the edited collection *Federalismos latinoamericanos*, José Carlos Chiaramonte gives a masterful synthesis of Argentine political nomenclature and its roots in Argentina’s colonial and post-independence experience. In general political bibliography the use of the term “federalism” indicates the existence of a unified central power—a “federal state”—in the U.S. model: that is, a jurisdictionally segregated federal capital where the national president, national congress, and national bureaucratic apparatus have their seat. The Argentine use of “federalism,” however, expresses almost the opposite idea. Argentine federalism is actually *confederalism*, a union of independent states, whose provincial “representatives” act as diplomatic envoys negotiating agreements on co-equal terms. In Argentine history and historiography, any tendencies toward regional or provincial autonomy are therefore referred to as “federal.” See Chiaramonte, 82-90.

<sup>6</sup>Provincial leaders also complained bitterly over porteño restrictions on river traffic, over Buenos Aires’ monopolization of tariff proceeds, and the growing effect of foreign imports on local, regional industries. Ibid., 48. See also David Rock, *Argentina, 1516-1987: From Spanish Colonization to Alfonsín* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 87-88, 97, 108; and Alberdo Rodolfo Lettieri, *La construcción de la república de la opinión: Buenos Aires frente al interior en la década de 1850* (Buenos Aires: Prometeo Libros, 2006).

<sup>7</sup>Nicolas Shumway offers a superior historical overview of this period and the political and economic interests behind the conflict. See *The Invention of Argentina* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 168-187.

From the standpoint the provinces, this was beginning of the end. The military victory of the port city had ensured it a favored positioning regarding not just the movement of agricultural commodities, but also control of commercial traffic and distribution of customs.<sup>8</sup> To be sure, the central provinces nearest the Río de la Plata—all falling within Argentina’s incomparably fertile Pampas region—benefitted from the mass export of wheat and chilled meat discussed in chapter one of this dissertation. These central provinces enjoyed political power on a national stage due to their economic weight and growing populations. However, Buenos Aires still dominated even the Pampas provinces in every conceivable political and commercial aspect. Aided by a degree of British investment surpassing that received by any other country in the Western hemisphere, porteño leaders profited from a national transportation network focused wholly on the growth of the Pampas-centric agricultural sector.<sup>9</sup> The British-financed transportation network spread outward from Buenos Aires, intended, as more than on Argentine observer pointed out, not to service Argentine tourism or foster inter-provincial connectivity, but to spirit raw goods toward the capital in classic imperial style. The end result of this system of economic prioritization was spectacular wealth for the national

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<sup>8</sup> See Oscar Oszlak, *La formación del estado argentino: Orden, progreso y organización nacional* (Buenos Aires: Planeta, 1997), 87-167. See also Julio Saguir, *Unión o secesión?: Los procesos constituyentes en Estados Unidos, 1776-1787 y Argentina, 1810-1862* (Buenos Aires: Prometeo, 2007), 81-82.

<sup>9</sup> See Natalio R. Botano, “El federalismo liberal en Argentina: 1852-1930,” in *Federalismos latinoamericanos: México/Brasil/Argentina*, ed. Marcello Carmagnani (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1993), 224-243; and Rock, 162. Other Argentine provinces, of course, did and still do seek exploitation of natural resources unrelated to grain and cattle. Salient examples during the early twentieth century include Tucumán’s sugar industry, the *quebracho* lumber industry in Santiago del Estero and Chaco, viticulture in Mendoza and San Juan, and petroleum and wool in the Patagonia region. Ultimately, however, few of these commodity-based “industries” would allow for a profound or long-lasting economic transformation in their respective regions. The biggest factors contributing to the inability of most Argentine provinces to match the economic growth of the Littoral included a highly taxed transportation system, foreign competition, lack of porteño investment in local industries, as well as unsustainable management of natural resources by national and international companies.

capital and its adjacent provinces juxtaposed with slow but sure economic stagnation for the rest of the Argentine provinces.

From its privileged place on the Río de la Plata estuary, Buenos Aires became the sole entry point for imports of every kind. Goods and correspondence dropped off by ships from abroad were spirited away to all points north, west, and south via Argentina's sprawling railroad network. Even those ships bound for the upriver ports of Rosario, Santa Fe, Paraná, or Corrientes were required to pay customs in the national capital before continuing on. Manufactured goods from more industrialized nations were shipped from Buenos Aires to the provinces, to be sure, but the same went for new technologies, ideas, and cultural practices.<sup>10</sup> Buenos Aires agglutinated the country's top universities, hospitals, cultural institutions along with institutions of governance. This inevitably drew the top provincial minds to the capital, many of whom would remain permanently after completing their education. News stories from overseas hit Buenos Aires first. European trends in fashion, music, and art took root first in the national capital before spreading inland. Felicities of geography precipitated the rise of the metropolis, and military acquired political supremacy laid the foundation for its multifaceted domination of the rest of the country. "Goliath's head," as one writer called it, loomed large.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Matthew Karush, *Culture of Class: Radio and Cinema in the Making of a Divided Argentina, 1920-1946* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2012), 43-44.

<sup>11</sup> Ezequiel Martínez Estrada, *La cabeza de Goliath: Microscopía de Buenos Aires* (Buenos Aires: Amigos del Libro Americano, 1940). For general historical literature on the inequalities and uneven development between Buenos Aires and the Interior, see James Scobie, *Argentina: A City and a Nation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971); Fernando Rocchi, *Chimneys in the Desert: Industrialization in Argentina during the Export Boom Years, 1870-1930* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006), 138-141; Félix Luna, *Buenos Aires y el país* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudamericana, 1982); Alberto Rodolfo Lettieri, *La construcción de la república de la opinión*; and Shumway, *The Invention of Argentina*. Larry Sawers' *The*

## Soccer and Other Provincial “Industries”

In this light, the irony of the development of Argentine soccer was that it simultaneously followed parallel paths, geographically speaking, rather than strictly radiating outward from Buenos Aires. The establishment of soccer in the provinces was, of course, contingent on patterns of economic development that were determined by and centered on Buenos Aires. As a modern sport disseminated by British immigrants, the sport passed through the port and national capital first. But given the particularities of British migration to and throughout Argentina as discussed in chapter one, with its multi-sited simultaneity and constant movement, Argentines from all regions were able to quickly make soccer a localized socio-cultural practice. Regionally isolated as soccer largely was between 1900 and 1920,<sup>12</sup> regionally differentiated styles of play developed. Although the porteño authorities and fans knew nothing about it—the hegemony of the so-called “national” sports press, which focused almost exclusively on porteño social and cultural practices, took care of that—by the time porteño and provincial institutions sought extended mutual contact in the late 1910s, provincial fans and players viewed their local soccer practices as historically rooted and self-gestated.

When Pampas teams began to play Interior teams with some regularity, soccer teams from the Pampas tended to win, competitively and institutionally. The Pampas’ share of the national population was enormous, as discussed in previous chapters, and their teams drew from larger pools of players. Pampas clubs were also staffed by

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*Other Argentina: The Interior and National Development* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1996) offers a variety of quantitative data to illustrate the economic inequalities between Argentine regions.

<sup>12</sup> As discussed throughout chapter one, many teams in Córdoba, Mendoza, Santiago del Estero, and Tucumán predate Pampas teams.

moneyed political and social luminaries who were themselves beneficiaries of the regionalized prosperity the likes of which Latin America had never seen. The first Pampas teams to visit the Interior impressed with a florid playing style that appeared devastatingly effective against early provincial opponents—Racing de Avellaneda and Rosario Central would long be remembered as master practitioners of this “Rioplatense” style<sup>13</sup>—though provincial teams had their share of victories, shocking to porteño observers though they were. Still, the national capital enjoyed a superior population count and superior resources, placing most provincial sports institutions at a perpetual disadvantage, just as it had in matters of politics or economic policy. These disadvantages were manifested in the realms of competition on the field as well as in institutional relations off the field.

There is a danger, of course, in painting Argentine regionalized inequality in too broad of strokes. The Argentine economic, political, and socio-political landscape of the early twentieth century was more nuanced than many commentators were able to recognize. The porteño vision of an extremely bifurcated nation—the quasi-European capital city, Paris of the Americas, on one hand, and the “thirteen straw huts” (by way of “provinces”) on the other—did much to distort the complicated contours of regionalized inequality. “There is more of Buenos Aires in the Interior, and more of the Interior in Buenos Aires, than either side is willing to admit,” offers one popular saying.<sup>14</sup> Within the continuum of Argentine economic development, with the national capital occupying one extreme, some parts of the Interior were less “interior” than others. Argentines living

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<sup>13</sup> For an expanded discussion of the Rioplatense playing style as debated by sports journalists, please see chapter three, pp. 117-123, and chapter five, pp. 224-231.

<sup>14</sup> I am indebted to Oscar Chamosa for sharing with me this aphorism.

in wealthy Pampas cities like La Plata, Bahía Blanca, or Rosario in the 1910s and 1920s may have despaired—as they may today—of the concentration of power that sees Buenos Aires exercise its political and economic will on the rest of the country. Yet much of the Buenos Aires province and southern Santa Fe provinces enjoy some of the highest standards of living in the country. Even though Rosario, with its belated growth, may have missed out on its chance to be designated the Federal Capital, in the world of soccer Rosario institutions dealt and competed with Buenos Aires on the same level. In the 1910s and 1920s, being the grain capital of the world's most productive granary had its benefits for Rosario. This was no less true in the world of soccer than in the world of politics or finance.

Distance prevented *rosarino* and porteño clubs from playing in the same league until the late 1930s, but from the beginning of the 1900s, officials from both cities sought intimate inter-institutional ties. Buenos Aires and Rosario teams played with enormous frequency, such frequency that their players were said to practice the same Rioplatense playing style, a regionalized school of play that also included Montevideo.<sup>15</sup> Although the porteño league monopolized the Argentine national team the quantity and accessibility of good rosarino players gave Argentina's second city crucial leverage in the designation of national team players. Buenos Aires soccer authorities folded Rosario into

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<sup>15</sup> Countless passages from the 1920s sports press explicitly conflated porteño and rosarino football. One of the most explicit passages came from *La Cancha*: "One must equate Rosario soccer with Buenos Aires soccer. Just like here [in Buenos Aires], in Rosario soccer has been cultivated since its earliest days in Argentina, and Rosario has taken part in the resounding triumphs of international fame." See "El gran triunfo de fútbol chacarero," *La Cancha*, October 13, 1928, p. 5. See also, for instance, "Entrevista con Angel Sobrino," *El Gráfico*, December 25, 1926, p. 5 ("Rosario is more or less like Buenos Aires, and has been for a long time"); "Resultado moral del Campeonato Sudamericano de Football," *La Argentina*, December 14, 1927, p. 10; and *El Gráfico*, October 20, 1928, pp. 16-17. In this last-mentioned article appearing in *El Gráfico*, the sportswriter also included the cities of Santa Fe and Paraná with Rosario, Montevideo, and Buenos Aires in his regional construction of the "Rioplatense school" of play. See also n. 13 above.

their attempt to keep control of the national team rooted firmly in the Pampas. From the earliest days of the national team porteño officials set aside a large place for talented Rosario players. During the most important national team matches of the 1910s—the annual Lipton and Newton cups against Uruguay, and especially the annual South American Championship—*rosarino* players featured with increasing prominence, culminating in 1921 when Julio Libonatti of Newell’s Old Boys (Rosario) almost single-handedly guided the national team to its first South American Championship.<sup>16</sup> Later, in the 1920s, as touring European teams arrived in Argentina with increasing frequency, they were steered toward Rosario. Despite tireless efforts by ever-optimistic officials in Tucumán and Santiago del Estero, teams visiting from abroad virtually never ventured beyond the Pampas. From the perspective of porteño and foreign officials alike, there was no need: the country’s best teams and leagues, from which national team players were drawn, all came from the great Pampas cities. For all intents and purposes, the Uruguay-sized Pampas region contained all the material, cultural, and racial elements that officials cared to project to foreigners. Rosario’s wealth had attracted much-desired European masses in proportions rivaling Buenos Aires, and many of these racially admirable<sup>17</sup> sons of Italy and Spain swelled the ranks of Rosario soccer leagues, making

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<sup>16</sup> Some of the best-known *rosarino* players on the national team during the 1912-1930 era included: Zenón Díaz (Rosario Central), Ennis and Harry Hayes (Rosario Central), Carlos Guidi (Tiro Federal), Antonio and Eduardo Blanco (Rosario Central), Atilio Badalini (Newell’s Old Boys), Florindo Bearzotti (Belgrano), the abovementioned Julio Libonatti (Newell’s Old Boys), Juan Francia (Newell’s Old Boys), Alfredo and Ernesto Celli (Newell’s Old Boys), Octavio Díaz (Rosario Central), Antonio Miguel (Newell’s Old Boys), Roberto Cochrane (Tiro Federal), Gabino Sosa (Central Córdoba), and Alfredo Chambrolin (Newell’s Old Boys).

<sup>17</sup>Historians of immigration in Argentina fixate on the fact that Spanish and Italian immigrants were undesirables—that is to say, that originally such foundational statesmen as Sarmiento and Alberdi preferred northern Europeans over them. Histories of immigration to Argentina are replete with stories of discrimination and xenophobic discourse toward newly arrived European immigrants in fin-de-siècle Argentina. Those narratives of socio-cultural prejudice have, in this opinion of this writer, been overemphasized. As I discuss in the introduction to this dissertation, Spanish and Italian newcomers

their ambassadorial role as members of the Argentine national team doubly gratifying. That many of those visiting European teams' worst losses came during their obligatory stop in Rosario made perfect sense to Argentine officials.<sup>18</sup> As *rosarino* players paid back porteño trust with outstanding play on the field, the decision to look no farther afield for national players than the Pampas seemed a sensible one. Rosario and Buenos Aires officials fell out, from time to time, over specific policies or player selections, producing moments in which *rosarino* officials decried what seemed to be their subaltern status vis-à-vis the capital. But from the point of view of soccer authorities in Santiago del Estero or Tucumán, Rosario lived a charmed life. Geographically, materially, architecturally, culturally, even in terms of spoken accent Rosario and Buenos Aires were akin. Many Argentines in the provinces found it easy to dichotomize regionalized inequality as Pampas-vs.-Interior rather than simply Buenos Aires-vs.-Provinces.

In the early twentieth-century Argentina, mapping a continuum of *least provincial* to *most provincial* involved a complex calculus that took into account not just population, but climate, economic development, and the perceived racial profile of inhabitants. If Pampas cities like Rosario, La Plata, and Bahía Blanca—and to a somewhat lesser degree Córdoba and Santa Fe<sup>19</sup>—occupied one end of the spectrum, at the other end lay those

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assimilated into Argentine society with extreme rapidity, swelling the Argentine middle and professional classes. They became the keystone of powerful new expressions of Argentine national identity—one with European roots—and continue to be celebrated as such.

<sup>18</sup> The likes of Real Deportivo Español (1926), Real Madrid (1927), FC Barcelona (1928), and Torino (1929) all experienced their heaviest Argentine defeats at the hands of *rosarino* teams.

<sup>19</sup> These capital cities of their respective homonymous provinces also enjoyed relatively high standards of living compared to non-Pampascities. Their place in the Pampas—albeit in the Pampean periphery—and their geographical and cultural proximity to Buenos Aires gave them limited access to the national team as well. Córdoba's Miguel Dellavalle (Belgrano) played on the Argentine national team between 1920 and 1922, and Santa Fe players Juan Loyarte (Colón) and Martín Sánchez (Colón) formed part of the 1924 and 1925 squads, respectively. Until the *santiagueños* Segundo Luna and Alberto Helman were incorporated



postcolonial backwaters like Chaco, Corrientes, and, of course, Santiago del Estero. In previous paragraphs I have detailed the rise of a profitable agro-economy based in the Pampas, the source of that region's material wealth and political power. In the Argentine Northwest governments and businesspeople sought entry into the export market, particularly through sugar harvesting and refining in Tucumán, and through the extraction of hardwood in Santiago del Estero. Despite initial robustness, the Tucumán sugar industry was ultimately unable to secure an external market due to competition from Brazil and the Caribbean, and the internal Argentina market, for its part, was never able to fully support the sugar industry. Meanwhile, in Santiago del Estero efforts to develop the forestry industry led to disastrous economic, demographic, and environmental consequences for the province. Among the most durable of timbers, the *quebracho* tree became known in the late nineteenth century for its tannins, which could be used with marvelous effect to tan and treat fine leather. Local politicians auctioned off stunningly large tracts of land to British and porteño consortia,<sup>20</sup> which extracted the wood at a feverish pace, establishing temporary saw mills and tannic acid factories called *obrajes*. Obliterating the province's forestry cover within decades, the *obrajes* disappeared, never to return, along with the low-wage employment they provide for poor *norteños*.

Environmentally, a once-forested region became, in the words of one historian, "desolate

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into the national team in 1927, Vicente González of Mendoza (Gimnasia y Esgrima), who played in the 1921 Campeonato Sudamericano, was the only player from outside the Littoral provinces to play for the Argentine national team in a major tournament.

<sup>20</sup> This resulted in Santiago del Estero becoming what historian Raúl Dargoltz famously termed the "most privatized province in Latin America." See Raúl E. Dargoltz, *El santiagueño: Gestación y crónica de una pueblada argentina* (Buenos Aires: El Despertar Ediciones, Sielp, 1994), 57.

dust- or brush-covered wastelands.”<sup>21</sup> Santiago del Estero’s attempts to integrate into Argentina’s booming export sector profited only a few local landowners, as well as domestic and foreign exporters.<sup>22</sup> The province would never recover environmentally or economically. Demographically the enduring consequence of this multifaceted disaster was the en masse migration of *santiagueños* to Buenos Aires, beginning in the 1930s and lasting through the 1980s, the largest internal migration the country had ever or would ever see.

Similar stories could be heard throughout the Argentine Interior, whether relative to mining in La Rioja or tobacco in Corrientes.<sup>23</sup> Historian David Rock well described the situation affecting most provinces north and west of the Pampas, which “lingered on in a state of unspecialized autarky, many of them reliant on subsidies from Buenos Aires for the upkeep of their administrations.”<sup>24</sup> The resulting sense of “loss and impoverishment”<sup>25</sup> extant in the Argentine Northwest, found expression in a book by Jujuy governor Benjamín Villafañe Chaves called *La miseria de un país rico*, originally published in serial form in major provincial newspapers throughout 1926.<sup>26</sup> “The fate of

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<sup>21</sup> Rock, 180.

<sup>22</sup> For another, masterful account of Santiago del Estero’s export economy during this period, see Alberto Tasso, *Ferrocarril, quebracho y alfalfa: Un ciclo de agricultura capitalista en Santiago del Estero, 1870-1940* (Córdoba, Argentina: Alción Editora, 2007).

<sup>23</sup> Two Argentine regions were exceptions to the rule. Viticulture in parts of the Cuyo (Mendoza and San Juan provinces) flourished due to a strong internal market for wine. The same, though to a somewhat lesser degree, could be said for *yerba mate* cultivation in Misiones territory in far northeastern Argentina.

<sup>24</sup> Rock, 182.

<sup>25</sup> Ana Teresa Martínez, et al., *Los hermanos Wagner: entre ciencia, mito y poesía. Arqueología, campo arqueológico nacional y construcción de identidad en Santiago del Estero, 1920-1940* (Santiago del Estero: Ediciones Universidad Católica de Santiago del Estero, 2003), 25.

<sup>26</sup> Villafañe presented his work in a series of conferences for provincial governors held in Salta in 1926; they were subsequently published in book form in Jujuy (Talleres Gráficos del Estado) under the title *La miseria de un país rico: Proteccionismo y libre cambio; La destrucción de la República*. A more widely

having come into the world with only one overseas port hangs over our heads like a curse,” he wrote.

The entire political and economic life of the Argentine Republic, from its first days until the present, has been nothing but a conflict of interests between the Capital of the Republic and the Provinces. It has been a conflict on one hand between men in Buenos Aires who have attempted to impose their will on the national political process and on the commonly held national treasury—and almost always succeeded—and on the other hand their [provincial] brothers, who have faced their apparent fate with resignation.<sup>27</sup>

Argentina, Villafañe continued in a subsequent installment, “has from 1880 to the present day been governed by people who only pay attention to one region of the country—the one in which they live.”<sup>28</sup> His concluding installment contained an ominous warning regarding the porteño-centrism that from a provincial perspective was at the heart Argentine regionalized inequality:

Argentines must not lose sight of the fact that Northern industries complement those of the Pampas, and vice versa. It is deadly to only worry about the head<sup>29</sup> at the cost of neglecting the limbs, just as it is economically deadly to focus all economic activities on grain and cattle-raising. Blood must flow between the brain and limbs alike. If the blood is healthy, the body prospers. If it is not, the consequences can be fatal.<sup>30</sup>

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read version, titled simply *La miseria de un país rico*, was published in Buenos Aires in 1927 by El Ateneo. Villafañe also published a collection of documents detailing his plans to transform the Argentine economy by protecting provincial industries: *El atraso del interior: Documentos oficiales del gobierno de Jujuy pidiendo amparo par alas industrias del norte: Apéndice a la conferencia leída en la reunión de gobernadores en Salta* (Official documents from the Jujuy government requesting assistance in protecting Northern industries) (Jujuy, Argentina: Tip.-Lib. B. Buttazzoni, 1926).

<sup>27</sup> *El Orden*, July 27, 1926, p. 6.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid*, August 2, 1926, p. 6.

<sup>29</sup> Using the same corporeal analogy in an earlier passage, Villafañe memorably referred to Buenos Aires as “more a macrocephalic monstrosity than a head,” presaging Martínez Estrada’s more remembered “head of Goliath” metaphor.” *Ibid*, July 27, 1926, p. 6.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid*, August 29, 1926, p. 6.

In the years and decades following the publication of *Las miserias de un país rico*, other Northwestern intellectuals advanced Villafañe's region-based analysis of Argentine inequality and disunity, notably the santiagueño Bernardo Canal Feijóo, who organized the seminal Congress for the Economic Integration of the Argentine Northwest (PINOA) in 1946.<sup>31</sup> And once the Great Depression signaled the death of an exclusively export-based economy, Peronists and Developmentalists throughout the 1950s and 1960s attempted to diversify Argentine industry and promote the development of the Argentine Interior. Still, for many, the attempts at economic succor for the Interior seemed too little or too late. In few spheres was this as apparent as in the realm of provincial soccer.

### **The Struggle to Control for National Team**

The territorial integration that institutionalized soccer had bestowed on the country did little to challenge old concentrations of political, economic, and cultural power. On the contrary: even as organized soccer made the country seem more unified than ever, it generated new conflicts between porteños and provincials. Much of this conflict centered on the Buenos Aires-based Argentine “national” soccer team. Considered during the time to be among the most globally visible projections of Argentine identity, the Argentine national had been manned by porteño players and controlled by the porteño elite since the 1890s. Beginning in the 1920s, however, voices in the Argentine Northeast and other regions began demanding the decentralization of the national team institution—a call ultimately rejected by officials in Buenos Aires.

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<sup>31</sup> See chapter three for more information about Canal Feijóo, as well as an analysis of his role in using provincial soccer to channel provincial grievances.

Since 1903 the Argentine "national" team had been charged with competing in international matches and tournaments against counterparts from Uruguay, Brazil, and other South American and European teams. And from 1903 until the mid-twentieth century, players for the national team were drawn almost exclusively from the city and province of Buenos Aires and the city of Rosario. Provincial aspirants to the national team had no choice in the matter: Buenos Aires held absolute control over the national team. As a practical matter, to control the national team meant to attain legal and exclusive affiliation to the international body that sponsored international play: the Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA). When in the early years of the twentieth century FIFA began seeking the affiliation of national representatives from around the Western world, the local Buenos Aires soccer league—the Asociación Argentina de Football—acted unilaterally to claim representation for the entire country of Argentina. FIFA had expressly insisted that its affiliates were to number one per country and were to be nationally representative associations or confederations rather than merely a local league.<sup>32</sup> In blatant violation of this statute—whether with or without the assent of FIFA, it is not known—Buenos Aires soccer powers contacted FIFA, paid the affiliation fee, and secured for themselves the exclusive Argentine authority over FIFA-related soccer. In one swift move Buenos Aires had monopolized participation in international competitions governed by FIFA.<sup>33</sup> FIFA, it seems, never knew the

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<sup>32</sup>The difference between a national association and a local league is key to this issue. A national association was a confederation of local leagues drawn from all parts of a given country. A local league represented teams, officials, and players from its representative city or region. See original *FIFA Charter*, 1 September 1905. See also the wording of the 1928 *FIFA Estatutos y Reglamentos* produced for the Asociación Amateurs Argentina de Football, in which the AAAF, the Buenos Aires league, is recognized as the sole "administrators of soccer in [Argentina]," p.3.

<sup>33</sup>FIFA was and still is the biggest organizer of international soccer in the world, and also the most prestigious one. Even during the first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, affiliation with FIFA—whose first

difference. Whether sinisterly strategic or unconsciously done, the very naming of the Buenos Aires league—"Asociación Argentina de Football" rather than "Liga Porteña"—surely did much to obscure the issue from FIFA. And for porteño officials, long accustomed to the conflation of the local with the national, consulting provincial soccer officials was unnecessary. The affiliation of a city league to an international institution guaranteed that the Argentina's "national" team would be created, controlled, and comprised of porteños.

The first step toward challenging porteño control of the national team was the creation of a true national soccer confederation by provincial soccer authorities in 1922. Baptized the Confederación Nacional de Football (CNF), the organization consisted of representatives from numerous provincial and regional Argentine leagues. Through the CNF, provincial soccer officials successfully asserted control over the organization of the Campeonato Argentino. They also oversaw porteño teams' annual tours into the interior of the country. Buenos Aires officials agreed to this arrangement with one condition: that the provincial leagues forfeit any claims institutional control over the Argentine national team.<sup>34</sup> Why did provincial soccer authorities accept this? For one, the provincial leagues were still dependent on Buenos Aires for funding. Regardless of the institutional power afforded them by the CNF, provincial leagues continued to depend on the Buenos

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members were from western Europe—offered great international prestige, and national leagues representing the best players from each country had been affiliated to it since its inception. Becoming a nation's FIFA affiliate bestowed a self-reinforcing symbolic power both within and beyond the borders of an affiliated country.

<sup>34</sup>In the 1922 Statutes and Regulations for the Confederación Nacional de Football, Article 17 specifies that the Buenos Aires league would "reserve for itself exclusive governance of international soccer. All resolutions, affiliations, obligations and advantages relating to the international relations of soccer will pass through the [porteño] Asociación Argentina de Football."

Aires league for financing the Campeonato Argentino, and the tours of nationally famous porteño teams to the interior also provided provincial leagues with revenue due to increased ticket sales. In effect, the provincial desire for porteño funding provided Buenos Aires officials with insuperable leverage, and their local disciples—like Liga Cultural president José F. L. Castiglione in Santiago del Estero—benefitted immensely from the system, accruing local prestige with support from the capital. This interior-capital relationship of dependency closely resembled to the broader theories of dependency described in the 1970s by Fernando Henrique Cardoso and Enzo Faletto.<sup>35</sup> Although, superficially, it seemed a step toward broader provincial participation in one of Argentina's most popular social institutions, the 1922 establishment of the CNF ultimately served to undermine provincial authority, offering provincial agents some material benefits while definitively excluding them from governance of the national team.

Just the same, revolt was never far from provincial officials' minds. Two main factors fueled these provincial attempts to decentralize the national team. First, in the first half of the 1920s the porteño- and Rosario-controlled national team performed below expectations, particularly in the all-important Campeonato Sudamericano, the prestigious annual tournament disputed among South American national teams.<sup>36</sup> Of the ten South American Championships held from 1916 to 1926, the Argentine representatives won only two, both of them narrow victories obtained on Argentine soil. By comparison,

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<sup>35</sup>See Cardoso and Faletto, *Dependency and Development in Latin America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), 82-89.

<sup>36</sup>Today known as the Copa América, the Campeonato Sudamericano was organized by the Confederación Sudamericana de Football and held 12 times between 1916 and 1929. The Confederación Sudamericana de Football was formed in 1916 to celebrate Argentina's bicentennial celebration and institute a continental authority regulating regional competition. Inaugural members were Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Uruguay. Paraguay, Peru, and Bolivia would also join the confederation throughout the 1920s. The Campeonato Sudamericano was the Confederation's marquee competition.

then-archrivals Uruguay boasted six, with Brazil claiming the other two. A particularly dispiriting defeat against Uruguay in the 1926 Campeonato Sudamericano capped efforts by the sports media in both Buenos Aires and the interior to question the porteño-centric system and call for the inclusion of "new" players from the interior.<sup>37</sup>

The second factor leading to a revolt against the existing system was the emergence of talented "provincial" players on the national stage. The effortless porteño victories during early tours of the Interior—Racing's 6-1 in Tucumán (1920), Rosario Central's 8-1 in Santiago del Estero (1920), and River Plate's 4-0 in Tucumán (1920)—gave way to more contested matches, where large provincial teams held their own against Buenos Aires' best clubs. Huracán's 1-0 loss in Santiago del Estero in 1922 seemed to open the door to even more pronounced provincial victories over Estudiantes de la Plata in Tucumán (4-2 in 1925), Racing de Avellaneda in Corrientes (4-1 in 1927), San Lorenzo in Tucumán (4-3 in 1928), and Rosario Central against Santiago del Estero's Club Atlético Mitre (4-1 in 1929).<sup>38</sup> During the same period scintillating performances by *santiagueño* and *tucumano* teams in the Campeonato Argentino tournament—the subject of chapter three—also served to raise the profile of "provincial" soccer. In 1926, the Confederación Nacional de Football, with the blessing of Argentine president Marcelo T. Alvear, dispatched an all-star team made up entirely of provincial players on a tour of São Paulo.<sup>39</sup> Led by Santiago's Segundo Luna and Tucumán's Donato Penella,

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<sup>37</sup> See *Crítica*, September 24, 1925, p. 14; "La selección argentina de football," *El Gráfico*, December 19, 1925, p. 46; "El football del interior," *ibid*, July 30, 1927, p. 42; "Los desaciertos cometidos por el consejo de la AAAF," *ibid*, October 8, 1927, p. 10;

<sup>38</sup> All-star AAF and AAmF teams also faced massive defeats in tours to Bahía Blanca (4-0 in 1925) and Concordia, Entre Ríos (5-2 in 1926).

<sup>39</sup> The roster for this tour was as follows: Domingo Belmatrini (Santa Fe), Saúl Calandra (Buenos Aires Province), Braulio de Jesús (Buenos Aires Province), José Della Torre (Buenos Aires Province), Roberto



the team won all five matches, including one against the powerful São Paulo combined team, which featured several Brazilian national team players. The successive, matchless performances by Segundo Luna on the country's biggest soccer stage endeared the "indio" Luna to fans nationwide. He particularly startled porteño audiences with his speed and extraordinary shot accuracy. Public acclaim led to Luna being invited onto the 1927 Campeonato Sudamericano team, the only provincial player to receive that honor.<sup>40</sup> Luna led Argentina to the title, performing brilliantly against Uruguay and becoming the tournament's leading scorer. As a result, Luna and fellow santiagueño Alberto Helman were given a place on the national team for the 1928 world soccer championship, held at the Olympic Games in Amsterdam—the only two provincial players on the team.

That 1928 Olympic Games tournament was perhaps the pinnacle Argentine sporting event of the 1920s. Incidentally, the santiagueño contribution proved negligible. Argentine officials excluded Luna and Helman from playing a single minute in the

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Devoto (Córdoba), Juan Evarista (Buenos Aires Province), Bernardo Fernández (Córdoba), Manuel Ferreira (Buenos Aires Province), Celestino Galaverna (Santa Fe), Segundo Luna (Santiago del Estero), Angel Napoleoni (Santa Fe), Rodolfo Orlandini (Buenos Aires Province), Pedro Ortiz (Córdoba), Donato Penella (Tucumán), José Ricci (Buenos Aires Province), Felipe Scarpone (Buenos Aires Province), and Antonio Simonsini (Santa Fe). Many of the "Buenos Aires Province" players listed here were influential players in the porteño league, playing in areas like Avellaneda or La Plata there were technically outside the borders of the national capital and, hence, part of the contiguous province of the same name.

<sup>40</sup>In September of 1927 the most widely read magazine in South America, *Mundo Argentino*, conducted a massive survey asking fans from around the country to create their own Argentine national soccer team, position by position. Its stated purpose was to reconstitute the team following its string of disappointing performances (*Crítica*, September 6, 1927, p. 8; *Mundo Argentino*, September 7, 1927, p. 18). Some 70,000 Argentines mailed in their votes. Porteño readers enthused by Luna's increasingly high-profile performances, presumably in conjunction with sympathizers from the Argentine Northwest, voted Segundo Luna the most popular left winger in Argentina. He defeated his nearest challenger, Independiente de Avellaneda's legendary Raimundo Orsi, 25,965 votes to 23,945 (*Mundo Argentino*, December 14, 1927, p. 37). The survey gave porteño soccer officials an unequivocal statement of public will regarding the inclusion of Segundo Luna on the national team. Significantly, fellow santiagueño Alberto Helman came in second for his position, losing out to team captain Humberto Recanatini. No other players from outside Buenos Aires or Rosario placed so high. The santiagueños' remarkable showing in the survey was based solely on Campeonato Argentino performances from 1925 to 1927. It would have been the only occasion porteño fans would have had to see them in action.

tournament. Argentina went on to lose the gold medal match to their nemesis Uruguay. The photographs of Segundo Luna witnessing Argentina's defeat from the bench—against the same Uruguayan team he had helped defeat six months earlier—spurred outrage across the country. In his sole interview on the matter, Luna attributed his exclusion to authorities' "favoritism" toward porteño players, though his son has described his ostracism as discrimination "because of [his] dark skin."<sup>41</sup> No matter the reason, during Argentina's first ever world championship, with unprecedented international prestige on the line, porteño national team authorities continued to spurn even the most proven provincial players.

While the 1928 tournament proved a disappointment for followers of Luna and Helma, their inclusion of Luna and Helman on the 1928 national team seemed a logical outcome given the increasingly apparent provincial aptitude for soccer. Certainly, it would be impossible—and in many ways unreasonable—for provincial players and institutions to expect parity with their porteño counterparts. But a reserved place on the national team for players from the Interior seemed to symbolize or even actualize the inclusion of the Interior within a larger national body. It is with some irony, then, that the rising national and even international profile of provincial players set into motion a series of events that would spell the downfall of provincial soccer. A more nationally representative national team inspired a more nationally representative porteño league—one in which in the years following the 1928 Olympics, the best provincial players

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<sup>41</sup> "*Lo apartaron por negro.*" This was related to me in conversation with Jorge Gómez in Santiago del Estero in September 2009. See also *El Liberal*, July 19, 1928, p. 5, in which Luna specified that players from the Boca Juniors and Independiente teams received preferential treatment from authorities and national team officials.

abandoned Interior institutions in pursuit of the material comforts of the national capital. The golden age of provincial soccer would be over almost as soon as it had begun.

### **Buenos Aires and the Gutting of Provincial Soccer**

The outstanding performances of provincial players like Donato Penella and Segundo Luna focused national attention not just on provincial institutions, but on provincial players as well. In an era of strict amateurism, club-to-club transfers were highly regulated, especially when different regional leagues were involved. Inter-league transfers had to be approved by a special committee, one which required strictly non-sports-related reasons to approve such requests. Just the same, undercover professionalism was an open secret in the Argentine soccer world of the 1920s. An almost farcical parallel system of payments and perks functioned alongside the amateur structure, allowing clubs to remunerate “amateur” players while keeping their books clean. Adding money onto players’ tour per diems was only the beginning. All top-tier soccer players were required by law to furnish proof of gainful employment. Club and league officials used business connections to provide players with cushy day jobs, some of which required professional qualifications beyond the feasible reach of working-class players. One unintentionally humorous photo shoot appeared in *El Gráfico* with the express goal of documenting players’ day jobs.<sup>42</sup> The *El Gráfico* photographers “surprised” a number of the country’s top soccer stars at their places of employment: Boca Juniors’ Domingo Tarasconi hunched over a ledger at the Ministry of Public Works; Huracán’s Cesáreo Onzari stood at the ready to fit men’s shoes at an upscale

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<sup>42</sup> *El Gráfico*, February 4, 1928. The spread was somewhat naively (or disingenuously) titled “Our Soccer Stars are Accused of [Undercover] Professionalism, but the Fact Is, All of Them Have Jobs.”

clothing store; San Lorenzo's Alfredo Carricaberry typed reports at the Street Pavement department; Juan Maglio pored over breeding records at the Slaughterhouse Administration office in Mataderos; and Ludovico Bidoglio appeared poised over machinery at his job as an "electrical technician" at the Ministry of Public Works.

As part of the same shoot, Santiago del Estero's Segundo Luna was shown toiling over a sawhorse in a "carpentry shop,"<sup>43</sup> an only partially concealed smirk on his face. When shown this photograph<sup>44</sup> by this writer in late 2009, Luna's 81 year-old son Jorge Gómez broke into laughter. "My old man never worked a minute in a carpentry shop," he told me with evident delight during an informal conversation. "He wouldn't have known the first thing about it, and he never would have had time to learn the trade—he was too busy playing [soccer] at [his club] Mitre."<sup>45</sup> The same could almost certainly have been said about the rest of the photographed players, and for top-level amateur soccer players in general. A famous exposé from 1926—also published by *El Gráfico*, ironically—confirmed in print what most Argentine soccer fans already knew: "Let us say it without euphemisms: today Argentine soccer players receive an illegal remuneration for their services, sometimes in appreciable amounts."<sup>46</sup> Together with their day job salaries, Argentine players of working-class origins were able to improve their material conditions, even in the pre-professional days of the sport.

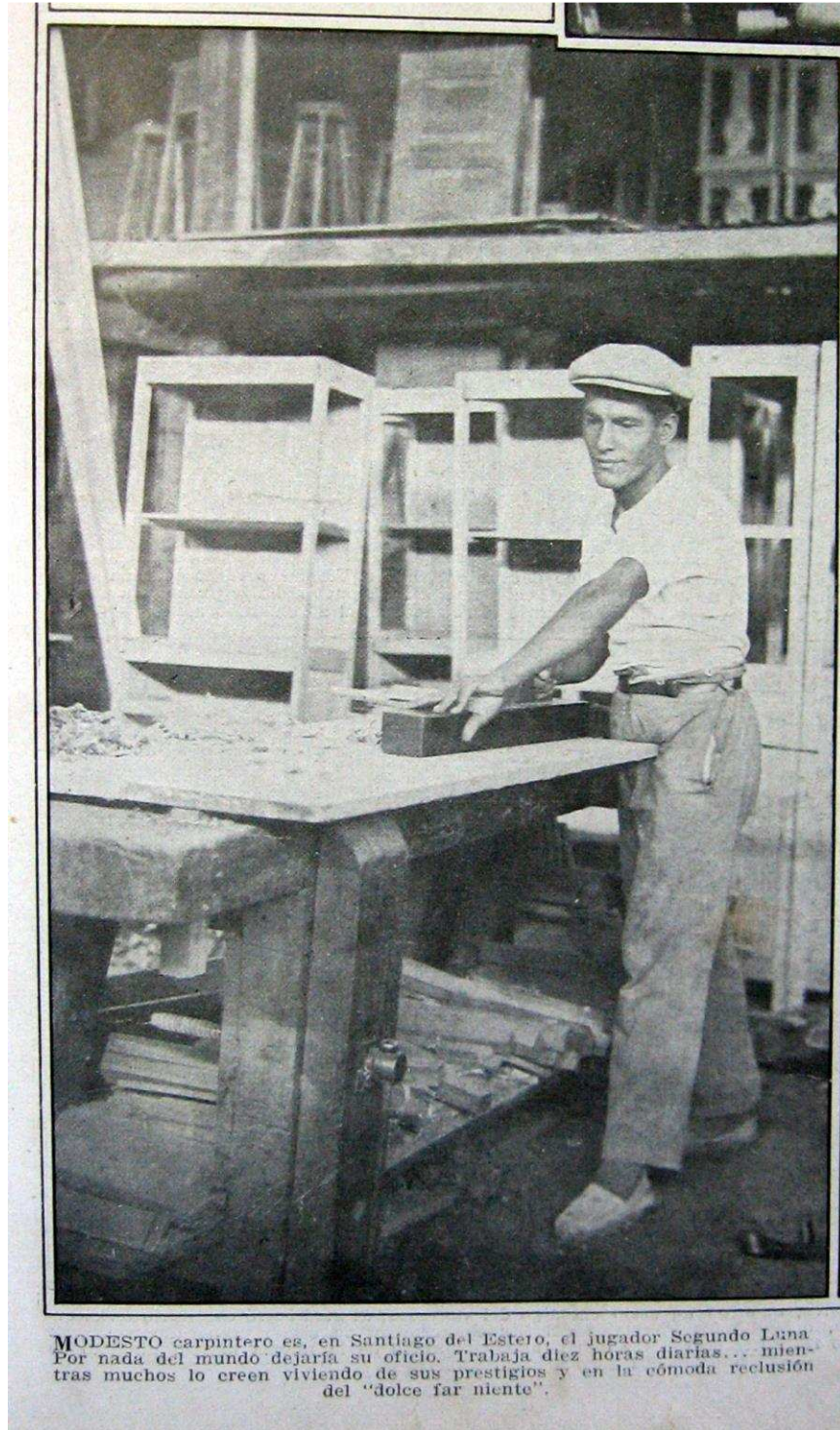
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<sup>43</sup> A lengthy 1928 feature article in *La Cancha* also referenced Luna's background in "carpentry," either in reference to this *El Gráfico* photo spread earlier that year, or as part of Club Mitre's ongoing cover story to defend Luna's "amateurism." See also "El carpintero Segundo Luna," *La Cancha*, September 1, 1928, p.

<sup>44</sup> See Figure 2.

<sup>45</sup> Conversation with Jorge Gómez, Santiago del Estero, September 2009.

<sup>46</sup> "El amateurismo marrón," *El Gráfico*, June 26, 1926. See also Iwanczuk, 225-226, as well as "El profesionalismo es fomentado por todos los clubs de la República," *La Argentina*, February 9, 1928, p. 12.



**Figure 2. Santiago del Estero's Segundo Luna as "carpenter" during an era of undercover professionalism. *El Gráfico*, February 4, 1928.**

More to the point, the under-the-table remunerative system allowed porteño officials to approach their provincial counterparts with lucrative offers for coveted players from Interior leagues. Negotiations were an intricate affair, involving league and club officials on both sides, along with prospective employers in Buenos Aires, Rosario, or La Plata, and, of course, the players themselves. One particularly biting article published in *La Gaceta* (Tucumán) laid bare the typical transaction with priceless sarcasm:

You've got to feel sorry for the porteño clubs and the economic sacrifices they make to be able to send their agents to the faraway cities of the Northwest...with sufficient cash in hand to convince our stars to accept their contracts. [They] gift players a free vacation to Buenos Aires, during which the provincial players, hit with the spontaneous urge to settle permanently in the national capital, request an official work-related club transfer from their home institutions...pursuing the promise of a cash "gift" of somewhere between 500 and 2,000 pesos, delivered not as a payment stipulated by their contract, no!, but as a simple gesture of porteño magnanimity. And because that noble generosity has no limits, the players are further "convinced" by the *sporting* promise of a day job with a daily salary of no less than 9 to 10 pesos, along with 40-50 pesos per matches won, 30 for matches played but not won, and 20 for each training session completed.<sup>47</sup>

For working-class players from the Interior, such an offer was difficult to refuse. This is not to say that top provincial stars did not also receive compensation in various forms in return for their "services." Segundo Luna was given a house adjacent to Mitre's stadium, and he was almost certainly inserted into a job in the city government at the conclusion of his illustrious career. Other benefits were of a less tangible but even greater value. As a Mitre player Luna traveled multiple times to Córdoba, Tucumán, La Plata, Rosario, Salta, and Jujuy, not to mention the annual trips to Buenos Aires as part of the Santiago del

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<sup>47</sup>"La caza del crack," *La Gaceta*, June 14, 1929, p. 7.

Estero delegation to the Campeonato Argentino. Such trips, replete with sleeper trains, banquets, top-tier hotels, and camaraderie with players from across the country, provided other perks beyond the monetary sphere. Once he became a national figure, Luna embarked on tours with all-star teams to Chile (Santiago and Valparaíso) in 1925, Brazil (São Paulo and Santos) in 1926, Peru (Lima) in 1927, and to Europe (Lisbon, Madrid, Barcelona, Amsterdam, and Paris) in 1928. A second and final European tour in early 1929 as a reinforcement for Sportivo Barracas (Buenos Aires) took him to Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, Oporto, Lisbon, Barcelona, Valencia, Genoa, Milan, Florence, Rome, and Naples. Luna's meticulously curated photo album, packed with photographs from each city and detailed captions, hints at the satisfactions and friendships that top-level soccer could provide him, all while serving as an amateur player for Club Atlético Mitre of Santiago del Estero.

Even so, the material pull of the Pampas proved impossible to resist for Luna and many others. Although he had long been praised by local and national commentators for refusing to accept transfer offers from Pampas teams,<sup>48</sup> Luna signed a contract with Newell's Old Boys of Rosario in July 1929, shortly after his return from Europe with Sportivo Barracas. Luna had been unable to find a worthwhile day job in Santiago del Estero, and not even the inflated tour per diems provided by Mitre and the Liga Cultural de Football<sup>49</sup> could compete with the money and day jobs on offer in booming Rosario.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> See, for example, *El Gráfico*, February 19, 1927, p.16; "Los siete hermanos Luna son entusiastas jugadores de fútbol," *La Cancha*, October 13, 1928, p. 12;

<sup>49</sup> That is to say, provincial authorities were just as guilty as their porteño counterparts in the undercover compensation to supposed "amateur" players. One scathing exposé of "the decadence of amateurism" in Santiago del Estero, possible authored by Bernardo Canal Feijóo, emerged in Santiago del Estero's *El Liberal* in late 1928. See "El principio olvidado," *El Liberal*, October 28, 1928, p. 5.

Segundo Luna was far from the only provincial player to be faced with such a choice. Researchers face some difficulty in the reconstruction and interpretation of inter-league transfers. Players did move—and switch leagues—for personal or professional reasons during the amateur period,<sup>51</sup> but in the second half of the 1920s the number of high-profile “moves” increased considerably.

Tucumán and Santiago del Estero, erstwhile performers in the Campeonato Argentino between 1925 and 1929, were assailed by porteño clubs seeking to cull the most talented players from their ranks. Agents and players were served an early warning in 1926 when the Liga Cordobesa caught the Instituto player Roberto Devoto negotiating a secret contract independently with Vélez Sarsfield of Buenos Aires. For violating Argentine soccer’s code of amateurism Devoto was banned from soccer for four years.<sup>52</sup> Devoto, who years later would succeed in playing for Vélez, might have complained bitterly about the exploitation of talented provincial players by league and club officials, but the true lesson of the Devoto affair was the necessity of seeking the collusion of local authorities in securing an inter-league transfer. Scores more *provincianos* experienced greater success than did Devoto. In 1928 the abovementioned Donato Penella, the biggest star in Tucumán, transferred to Boca Juniors.<sup>53</sup> Within the following year at least

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<sup>50</sup> Segundo Luna would subsequently spend short spells at River Plate and Racing de Avellaneda after two years with Newell’s Old Boys.

<sup>51</sup> For instance, when the Comodoro Rivadavia all-star team attended the Campeonato Argentino from far distant Chubut, porteño reporters discovered that eight of their sixteen players had played previously on porteño teams in the past, but had moved to Chubut for work-related reasons. See “Los jugadores de Comodoro Rivadavia,” *El Mundo*, September 25, 1928, p. 22.

<sup>52</sup> A full account of the scandal was presented in *La Argentina*. See especially, “Instituto de Córdoba denuncia al jugador Devoto como profesional,” *La Argentina*, April 6, 1928, p. 9.

<sup>53</sup> Penella’s move constituted the most high-profile transfer of a provincial player to Buenos Aires. It followed lengthy negotiations that played out on the front pages of Tucumán’s biggest newspapers over the



nine other *tucumano* stars had signed with porteño clubs like Tigre, Atlanta, Sportivo Palermo, and Barracas Central.<sup>54</sup> A similar—and more traumatizing—exodus took place concomitantly in Santiago del Estero. Segundo Luna's brothers Ramón and Nazareno, national prominent players in their own right, followed their elder sibling to Rosario for the second half of the 1929 season, signing on with Rosario Central.<sup>55</sup> Availing themselves of the blossoming Santiago-Rosario connection, all-star *santiagueños* players Alberto Helman and Raúl Alonso signed with Nacional (Rosario), while Teófilo Juárez played two seasons with Rosario Central before moving on to four fruitful years at River Plate in Buenos Aires.

The rapidity with which the most talented Northwestern players flocked to the Pampas shocked the provincial sports press. Initial pride at the national attention focused on provincial players soon gave way to deep resentment toward Buenos Aires, and not without cause. However, equally implicated in the talent drain from the Argentine Interior were the provincial authorities who negotiated illicit contracts with porteño officials, taking a cut from the deal in the process. At the same time that some provincial soccer authorities denounced porteño machinations and sought to redefine Pampas-Interior relations, other authorities undermined these efforts by collaborating with and pandering to porteño authorities. The extreme wealth and institutional power

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course of late 1927 and early 1928. Boca Juniors pursued Penella, commentators agreed, in part to ameliorate the temporary loss of star forwards Roberto Cherro and Domingo Tarasconi, who missed the first half of Boca's 1928 season while on duty with the national team in Amsterdam.

<sup>54</sup> Those players were Luis Carmona, Alberto Cuello, Gregorio Maidana, Damián Ordóñez, Roberto Santillán, and four other players surnamed Camargo, Toledo, Pérez, and Castro.

<sup>55</sup> Like their brother Segundo, Nazareno and Ramón would both stay in Rosario until 1931 before moving to Buenos Aires. Ramón would play for Argentinos Juniors and Atlanta, while Nazareno would play for River Plate and Vélez Sarsfield, among other clubs.

concentrated in Argentina's national capital may have doomed provincial soccer institutions to stagnancy and eventual irrelevance, but provincial soccer officials had a firm hand in the demise.

## **CONCLUSION**

In 1931 eighteen of Buenos Aires' top clubs formed a breakaway professional league—Latin America's first— and forever changed the face of Argentine soccer. At long last, sponsors and businessmen could put the full weight of their resources behind the contracting of professional players, without fear of punishment. No other regional league in Argentina professionalized, and the draining of soccer talent from the provinces to the capital that began in the 1920s accelerated vertiginously. Rosario and Santa Fe were able to retain most of their top players in the local leagues, but major leagues in other provincial cities found themselves in extreme vulnerability to the new professional market for players. For the inaugural 1931 season of the new porteño Liga Argentina de Fútbol, fifteen players were plucked from the Córdoba league, along with at least three Tucumán and three Santiago del Estero players. The Federación Tucumana de Football and the Liga Cultural de Football (Santiago del Estero) had already been mortally eviscerated during the late 1920s; the arrival of the professional porteño league merely confirmed their fate. Northwestern leagues lost talented players almost as soon they emerged. Bereft of stars, leagues suffered massive attendance drops, producing greatly diminished ticket sales. Profits for clubs and leagues plummeted accordingly, forcing provincial authorities to sell players to Pampas clubs with greater urgency and for lower prices. Tours of porteño clubs to the interior also dropped dramatically in frequency: provincial stars were already in Buenos Aires, playing for Buenos Aires clubs. Indigent

provincial leagues could no longer bankroll porteño tours or guarantee porteño officials a fair return for their expeditions to the Interior. With a few exceptions,<sup>56</sup> provincial soccer returned to the state of institutional isolation that existed prior to the 1910s, but without the ebullient sense of ascendance characteristic of the national boom years. Provincial soccer institutions became re-provincialized, left to their own scarce resources, erased from their formerly prominent place on the national soccer stage.

The fate of provincial soccer institutions mirrored the trajectory of provincial economies during the early twentieth century, described previously in this chapter. Through the middle of the twentieth century many sports writers would look back on the 1920s as the golden years of national soccer, just as many Argentines still see the 1870-1930 period as the golden years of Argentine development. And just as in the case of Argentine economics, that country's "golden era" of national soccer was tarnished by the very fact that no significant, nationally-felt realignment of institutional power or redistribution of material wealth occurred. In the Northwest, Argentina's Pampas-centric economic policies of the early decades of the 1900s were causal—rather than contrary—to the long-term impoverishment felt there in matters of sports and prosperity. The inter-regional conflicts for institutional control of soccer ultimately echoed broader historical trends in which provincial economic, political, and cultural interests clashed irremediably with porteño interests.

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<sup>56</sup> In 1939 the porteño professional league admitted selected teams from Rosario and Santa Fe. In the late 1960s the league, now known as the Argentine First Division, opened itself to a limited number of participants from the rest of the provinces. Teams from Córdoba, newly admitted to the league, gained prominence during the post-1960s period, as did a number of clubs from Mendoza, Tucumán, Jujuy, and San Juan. In 1971 Rosario Central became the first non-porteño team to win a national title; Newell's Old Boys followed suit in 1974, and both clubs repeated the feat several times through the present day. No other clubs from outside of Buenos Aires—much less outside the Pampas—has ever won a First Division title. However, all first- and second-division Argentine clubs enjoy full access to the national market of Argentine soccer players. As a result, just as many Northwestern players feature on Pampas teams as do Pampas players on provincial clubs.

However, during a period of years in the late 1910s and 1920s Argentines in the Interior still saw soccer as a means through which an elusive socio-cultural leverage could be exercised vis-à-vis Buenos Aires. It did serve as a vehicle for contesting porteño political dominance institutionally and discursively, and for reasserting provincial autonomy. The Campeonato Argentino tournament, a massively popular annual competition pitting Pampas teams against other teams from around the country, became a vehicle for Northwestern teams to invert the national power structure and exact a measure of vengeance on the national capital.

### CHAPTER THREE

#### **BUENOS AIRES AND THE NATION WITHIN: BIFURCATED NATIONHOOD AND THE CAMPEONATO ARGENTINO TOURNAMENT, 1920-1928**

The Central Argentino 8:20am express came to a halt at Estación Mitre in the northern Argentine city of Santiago del Estero. Eighteen young *santiagueño* men, returning home from a three-week stay in Buenos Aires, pressed their faces to the windows and met with an astonishing sight. Fully half of the city of Santiago del Estero, it was later reported, had come out to meet them. As they stepped off the train, a group of museum officials pushed their way through a group of reporters, anxious to claim the men's soccer cleats as a historical relic.<sup>1</sup> That day, October 17, 1928, was declared a provincial holiday by the governor. It was also marked by a series of parades, speeches, parties, and exhibitions of the coveted President's Cup, which the men had brought back from Buenos Aires. Santiago del Estero had defeated Salta, Entre Ríos and, most importantly, Buenos Aires, in order to claim the Argentine soccer championship, the first-ever victory for a team from the provinces. The players were featured in innumerable stories and interviews in the most widely read media of the day: the sports papers. They had become national celebrities due to a tournament which, though discontinued in the 1950s and lost to collective memory in subsequent decades, during

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<sup>1</sup>“Llegaron a Santiago del Estero los campeones argentinos de football,” *La Nación*, October 18, 1928, p. 13; *Los Principios* [Córdoba], October 18, 1928, PP.

the 1920s was considered to be, in the words of *La Nación*, “the most important national sports event of all time.”<sup>2</sup>

Established in 1920 by the Buenos Aires-based Asociación Amateurs de Football (AAmF), the Campeonato Argentino rivaled the Olympic soccer competition and the inaugural World Cup as the most popular Argentine sports events of its day. Unlike the usual league match between clubs, the annual Campeonato Argentino pitted selective teams representing each Argentine province, making it the only tournament of its kind in the world.<sup>3</sup> After passing through regional qualifying rounds within their respective provinces, the finalists would gain the honor of an all-expenses paid trip to Buenos Aires to compete in the final tournament. What had begun as six-team tournament in 1920<sup>4</sup> was by 1927 a seventy-team competition involving hundreds of players, coaches and officials, and hundreds of thousands of fans, culminating annually on the Día de la Raza in a widely-attended series of nationalistic events in the national capital.

In this chapter I argue that the Campeonato Argentino was a prominent facet of an early-twentieth-century governmental push to unify Argentina geographically and socio-politically. As this chapter will discuss, from 1914 to 1920 Argentina was rent by social and political crisis. Though Argentina had enjoyed economic growth on an

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<sup>2</sup>“El football de tierra adentro en la Capital,” *La Nación*, September 30, 1928, PP, second section.

<sup>3</sup>To most soccer enthusiasts, an “Argentine championship” would likely to refer to the top-flight Argentine national club league, established in the 1930s and including top club teams from Buenos Aires and other large Argentine cities. In the 1920s, however, no such national league existed. Argentine clubs were still highly regionalized; leagues in different cities had relatively little interaction with one another. While the Buenos Aires soccer leagues of the late 1910s and early 1920s—the Asociación Argentina del Football and the Asociación Amateurs de Football—were well known on a national level, there was no “Argentine championship” to speak of. The Campeonato Argentino involved combined, “representative” teams from different provinces. When it was instituted in 1920 it introduced the idea and the term into the national consciousness.

<sup>4</sup>The inaugural Campeonato Argentino included teams representing the cities of Buenos Aires and Rosario, and the four provinces of Tucumán, Santiago del Estero, Córdoba and Corrientes.

unprecedented level in the decades before the crisis, a massive withdrawal of foreign capital during World War I and an attendant decline in employment created an environment of social turbulence.<sup>5</sup> Although the Campeonato Argentino was organized and contested by private citizens, it was conceived in a moment of national social and political turmoil and thus aligned to fit the political purposes of the state. As Argentina's first truly national sports event, whose results were commented on throughout the country, the Campeonato Argentino fomented a sense of symbolic and institutional unity between the federal capital and the rest of the provinces. With its “representative” provincial delegations and patriotic trappings, the tournament was marketed as an affirmation of a new, truly nation-wide sense of collective belonging. Soccer institutions and soccer-related discourse during the 1910s and 1920s provided a means of integration on a regional, national and international level,<sup>6</sup> and the Campeonato Argentino was a prominent facet of this integrative movement. By harnessing federal, provincial and municipal funding for this tournament of unprecedented dimensions, government leaders and sympathizers converted the Campeonato Argentino into a quasi-state project.

These initial, highly symbolic contests between “*Capital Federal*”<sup>7</sup> and provinces like “San Juan,” “Santiago del Estero,” or “Santa Fe” allowed the mass media to utilize

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<sup>5</sup>See Luis Alberto Romero, *A History of Argentina in the Twentieth Century* (University Park, Pa.: Penn State Press, 2002), 30-33; Tulio Halperín Donghi, *Vida y muerte de la República verdadera (1910-1930)* (Buenos Aires: Emecé, 2007), 197-230; and Ricardo Falcón and Alejandra Monserrat, “Estado, empresas, trabajadores y sindicatos” in *Democracia, conflicto social y renovación de ideas (1916-1930)*, vol. 9 of *Nueva Historia Argentina*, ed. Ricardo Falcón (Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudamericana, 2000), 156-170.

<sup>6</sup>Throughout the late 1910s and the 1920s, many first-time interactions of an international nature took place, matches between Argentine teams and foreign clubs and foreign national teams: the South American soccer championship (begun in 1916), the 1928 Olympic Games, the inaugural 1930 World Cup, and various tours of European club teams to South America (and of Argentinean clubs to Europe). Chapter five of this dissertation offers a fuller account of the emergence of international competitions in South America.

<sup>7</sup>Buenos Aires.

soccer competition as an examination of quintessential “provincial” characteristics as expressed through the physical performances of the players. Different Argentine agents constructed, disseminated and/or received essentialized narratives of player behavior, differentiating or likening their region to that of their opponents. In interviews in the traditional press and in legislative debates and in public speeches, tournament organizers employed an inclusivist discourse of national citizenship intended to hail provincial players and fans as members of a greater, shared, masculine Argentine nationhood. At the same time, however, agents in both Buenos Aires and in the provinces vigorously contested official narratives. Because the Campeonato Argentino juxtaposed different geographical sectors of Argentine national society in a potent new way, it served to reinforce long-existing inter-regional grudges and stereotypes. The porteño popular press tended to challenge provincial claims to national belonging in cultural or even racial terms. The latter half of this chapter analyzes the case study of Santiago del Estero, the first provincial champion of the Campeonato Argentino. Santiagueños also used the Campeonato Argentino as a way to funnel and symbolize longstanding regional antagonisms—deeply held feelings of local identity and resentment aimed at a capital historically seen as domineering. By channeling local discourse of regional pride and laying claim to their own soccer playing style that contrasted favorably with that of Buenos Aires, santiagueños created powerful, widely-propagated regional formulations of Argentine-ness in explicit contra-distinction to the federal capital—formulations of identity that have endured until the present day.



## An Interregional “Social Healing Project”

At the moment of its founding in 1920 the Campeonato Argentino was a unique sporting event in Europe and Latin America.<sup>8</sup> Two facts account for this uniqueness: first, it was Latin America's first nation-wide soccer competition. Until the 1930s and even 1940s, most soccer leagues and tournaments in Europe and Latin America were organized on a city-wide or regional basis. A national competition like the Campeonato Argentino required considerable logistical exertion, not to mention government funding, and was theretofore unheard of in Latin America. Even in Europe, the few extant nationwide competitions involved *club* teams rather than *representative* teams. Club teams such as Argentina's Boca Juniors or England's Manchester United represent their members and are typically associated with a specific neighborhood or local ethnic community. However, unlike club teams, Campeonato Argentino participants consisted of all-star teams called to represent an entire *province* and to compete against other "representative" provincial teams.<sup>9</sup> Similar to a national soccer team, these Campeonato Argentino all-star squads—*selecciones* or *combinados*—featured players selected from

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<sup>8</sup>The Campeonato Argentino rapidly inspired analogous tournaments in Brazil and Uruguay, both of which were established in 1922. In Brazil, the Campeonato Brasileiro de Seleções Estaduais was played regularly from 1922 to 1962 and was through the 1960s Brazil's most important national soccer competition.

<sup>9</sup>The qualification process for the Campeonato Argentino was stipulated by the Confederación Nacional de Football, headquartered in Buenos Aires and controlled by porteño authorities, as discussed in chapter two. Each Argentine province held a local qualifying competition that would begin months before the tournament finals held in Buenos Aires. City leagues formed all-star, representative teams that competed against each other to become the provincial finalist, thus qualifying to play the final tournament in Buenos Aires in representation of the entire province. Successfully qualified provincial teams typically came from provincial capital, which tended to have the largest populations, the longest soccer tradition, and the most clubs from which to draw from for competitive all-star teams. In some cases, however, all-star teams from smaller leagues did defeat teams from larger leagues to qualify for the Buenos Aires championships: Chilecito (La Rioja) defeated the La Rioja capital city league team in 1930; Villa Mercedes (San Luis) did the same with San Luis capital city team in 1930; Esperanza upset Santa Fe city in 1930, as Concordia (Entre Ríos) did to Paraná (the provincial capital) the same year. In 1928 Rafaela (Santa Fe) qualified ahead of Santa Fe city and Villa María (Córdoba) did the same over Córdoba city that year.

among various clubs within the borders of a given Argentine province. Hence, the basic organizing principle of the tournament was to include representatives from each province, proffering an exhibitionistic sentiment in the same spirit as a national beauty pageant, wherein the chief purpose of the event was to place all Argentine provinces in juxtaposition.<sup>10</sup> This focus on inter-regional integration and regional exposition is what made the Campeonato Argentino both unusual and highly popular in the 1920s and early 1930s, leading *La Nación* to call it "the most significant soccer event in the country."<sup>11</sup>

A prominent soccer league president named Adrián Beccar Varela masterminded the Campeonato Argentino.<sup>12</sup> A lawyer from an aristocratic porteño family, Beccar Varela had been the mayor of the wealthy Buenos Aires suburb of San Isidro before his 1919 recruitment into the Asociación Amateurs de Football.<sup>13</sup> More than merely a recreational activity or a profit-making endeavor, Beccar Varela created the Campeonato Argentino to play a supplementary role to the state as part of Argentina's nation-building

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<sup>10</sup>There were exceptions to this one-team-per-province policy. The Confederación Nacional de Football made the political decision to admit more than one qualifying team from the county's most populous provinces. The Santa Fe province given two qualification spots: a northern team (including the provincial capital of Santa Fe city) and a southern team (including Rosario). The Buenos Aires city team, known as "Capital" or "Capital Federal," was soon made to compete for its spot with teams from the northern Buenos Aires province. A spot was soon added for a team representing other parts of the populous province of Buenos Aires. Known as "Provincia," this team drew its players from La Plata, Avellaneda, and the greater Buenos Aires metropolitan area. During the tournament's peak years, the province of Buenos Aires would be further subdivided to allow qualifying teams from the far north of the province (including Zárate and Pergamino), the far south (Mar del Plata or Bahía Blanca), and the west (Bragado and Bolívar).

<sup>11</sup>*La Nación*, October 1, 1928, p. 10.

<sup>12</sup>Beccar Varela would credit fellow politician and soccer official Miguel Tellechea for helping to brainstorm the tournament in a 1919 conversation. Soccer weekly *La Cancha* also cited Racing de Avellaneda team president Julio Planisi with contributing to the idea. See Asociación Amateurs de Football, *Memorias y Balance* (1923), 19-20; and "Cómo nació la idea de los campeonatos argentinos," *La Cancha*, February 16, 1929, p. 4.

<sup>13</sup>José Beccar Varela, "Labrador del progreso: acción pública de Adrián Beccar Varela en el partido de San Isidro," *Revista del Instituto Histórico de San Isidro* 19 (2005): 9-41.

project of the late 1910s and 1920s. Nation building during this period of Argentine history meant resolving the abovementioned "social question," which had created a significant socio-political rift in the country throughout the late 1910s. From 1917 to 1919, Argentina's burgeoning socialist and anarchist movements reacted to a declining economy with a series of crippling strikes and protests. The protestors, many of whom were recent immigrants from Europe, articulated their grievances in the same terms as international bolshevism/communism: a conflict between Argentina's fantastically wealthy, landholding aristocracy and the urban working classes.<sup>14</sup> The conflict, which involved deaths on both sides, put the country on edge.

Argentina's "social question" was foremost on Beccar Varela's mind as he organized the inaugural Campeonato Argentino in mid-1920. For him, the Campeonato Argentino, with its emphasis on inter-class and inter-regional "fraternization" and national unity,<sup>15</sup> would constitute a "social healing project"<sup>16</sup> in the wake of a nationally divisive agitation. By bringing to Buenos Aires working-class players from all over the country, the tournament would, as Beccar Varela wrote in his original letter of invitation, "establish an exchange of players, profoundly linking one [player] to another, renewing and expanding...a spirit of nationalism and true Argentinism."<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>14</sup>Romero, 30-33.

<sup>15</sup>*Sesiones del Concejo Deliberante de la Ciudad de Buenos Aires Correspondientes al 2º período ordinario y de prórroga* no. 52 (Buenos Aires, 1920): 754.

<sup>16</sup>Asociación Amateurs de Football, *Memorias y Balance* (1921), 20.

<sup>17</sup>Reprinted in *El Orden* [Tucumán], September 11, 1920, p. 5. See identical statements in Asociación Amateurs de Football, *Memorias y Balance* (1920), p. 97; "Al margen del Campeonato Argentino: Consideraciones que nos sugiere su disputa," *Crítica*, August 28, 1920, p. 8; *La Nación*, October 5, 1920, p. 6; Ernesto Escobar Bavio, *El Football en el Río de la Plata (desde 1893)* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Sports, 1923), 229; "Financiación del séptimo Campeonato Argentino," *El Gráfico*, October 9, 1926, p. 15; "El octavo Campeonato Argentino," *Última Hora*, October 11, 1927, p. 10; "Hoy harán su debut los equipos de Río Negro, Jujuy, Villa María y Villa Mercedes," *El Mundo*, September 30, 1928, p. 22; *La*

The Campeonato Argentino rapidly became more than a "work of bonding and mutual acquaintanceship [among provinces]," however.<sup>18</sup> Beccar Varela and his provincial counterparts like Santiago del Estero's José F. L. Castiglione believed the tournament should play a "supplementary role to government policy" in combating extremist political elements within the country.<sup>19</sup> In a widely-publicized series of lectures delivered from 1920 to 1922, Beccar Varela outlined his agenda for using the Campeonato Argentino to mold Argentine men into productive workers, archetypes of masculinity, and into a bulwark of nationalism against "dissident, exotic, anarcho-communist" ideologies.<sup>20</sup> To an audience of provincial governors attending a banquet, he said, "As the president of this institution, one which strives solely for the greatness of the country, I believe it my duty to demand from you every possible moral and material support for organized soccer in the provinces under your governance. Fomenting soccer energizes our race and keeps the masses far from vice; it attempts to form a nation of conscientious, capable and patriotic men."<sup>21</sup> In the same remarkable speech, Beccar Varela would go on to say:

That is the mission of athletic institutions. To take the child leaving primary school . . . and envelop him in the sorts of sports that develop and give strength to his arms: whether guiding a plow that turns up the virgin soil or driving a motorized machine of the latest [technological] advances; whether defending the motherland on the fields of battle; whether

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*Nación*, October 13, 1928, p. 16; "El triunfo de los santiagueños," *La Voz del Interior* [Córdoba], October 15, 1928, p. 6.

<sup>18</sup>"El primer campeonato nacional," *El Orden* [Tucumán], October 7, 1920, p. 5.

<sup>19</sup>Asociación Amateurs de Football, *Memorias y Balance* (1920), p. 96.

<sup>20</sup>*Ibid.*, 92-93.

<sup>21</sup>Asociación Amateurs de Football, *Memorias y Balance* (1922), p. 18.

defending it with grit and enthusiasm in the fight for the consolidation of its democratic institutions, putting up a steel resistance to anyone attempting to puncture these goals or offend our sacrosanct insignia. Engendering these feelings and demanding honor through sport is how we help the State meet its ultimate goal. That is how the height of collective well-being is achieved. . . . These patriotic actions are the goal we pursue through [the Campeonato Argentino].<sup>22</sup>

To effect these lofty ends, logistically speaking, and summon some 150 players and officials (the first year alone) to Buenos Aires, would require a colossal financial contribution. The Buenos Aires soccer league, the Asociación Amateurs de Football, willingly assumed the obligation of paying for players' trips to Buenos Aires. It provided each provincial delegation with first-class transportation and accommodations, as well as arranging numerous banquets, field trips, and tours of the Federal Capital. Even so, costs were enormous, and only with official state support could the ambitious agenda be brought into fruition. Political luminaries like Argentine presidents Hipólito Yrigoyen and Marcelo T. Alvear, and Buenos Aires mayors José Luis Cantilo and Carlos M. Noel, supported Beccar Varela's ideas and diverted significant funds to ensure its success. For instance, for the championship's inaugural year the Buenos Aires Municipal Legislature approved \$2,000 to help fund the 300 long-distance railroad tickets for participating provincials.<sup>23</sup> The government of Corrientes province donated \$2,000 to the general Campeonato fund, to be administered by the AAmF.<sup>24</sup> Leading up to the third edition of

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<sup>22</sup>Ibid., *Memorias y Balance* (1921), 22.

<sup>23</sup>*Sesiones del Concejo Deliberante de la Ciudad de Buenos Aires Correspondientes al 2º periodo ordinario y de prórroga* No. 52 (Buenos Aires, September-October 1920): 754.

<sup>24</sup>Asociación Amateurs de Football, "Balance General del Campeonato Argentino," *Memorias y Balance* (1920), 70. See also *Crítica* September 22, 1920 p.8 for reports of provincial government's contributions. These initial donations by the Buenos Aires municipal government—and by other state agencies—would increase in size throughout the 1920s. For an event that in 1920 cost the Asociación Amateurs some \$40,000 to stage—by 1929 this amount had ballooned to \$115,000—the government donations were integral to the event's success.

the tournament in 1922, at the height of early fundraising efforts, the Buenos Aires Legislature contributed an astounding \$10,000, the Ministry of Justice \$2,600, and the provinces of Tucumán, Santa Fe, Córdoba, Salta, Mendoza, Corrientes, Santiago del Estero and Chaco a combined sum exceeding \$14,000. An experienced politician, Beccar Varela brought to bear the full strength of his family name and political connections to supplement these efforts. At his request, Buenos Aires mayor Cantilo ordered that every major theater on Avenida Corrientes set aside box seats for players from the provinces with the altruistic goal of introducing them to the spectacle of porteño theater, free of charge.<sup>25</sup> President Yrigoyen also donated a “magnificent” silver cup to be awarded to the champion.<sup>26</sup> Official support from national, provincial, and municipal coffers was fundamental to the logistics of the tournament. Governmental support also invested the event with airs of legitimacy and symbolically linked the tournament's ambitions to the nation-building goals of the state.

Through their actions porteño authorities—soccer and governmental—conveyed a clear idea of what was at stake in the Campeonato Argentino. For them the tournament was an exceptional opportunity to preach to the Argentine working classes a gospel of national unity based on both preserving the traditional political system and staving off “exotic” ideological elements. Their provincial counterparts agreed, though in the Argentine *interior* something more seemed at stake. Argentines from the provinces came to view the soccer tournament as an opportunity to refute on a national stage the idea that

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<sup>25</sup>*Los Principios* [Córdoba], October 12, 1920, p. 3.

<sup>26</sup>Asociación Amateurs de Football, *Actas de la Asociación Amateurs de Football* 59 (August 18, 1920), 120.

they were culturally and racially backwards. To deposit such transcendent ambitions in a soccer tournament may seem, to modern sensibilities, misplaced or confusing. In the early twentieth century, however, these hopes were not far-fetched. As documented in chapter one of this dissertation, even in the late 1910s and throughout the 1920s soccer retained vestiges of nineteenth-century British elitism: it was seen as a *civilized* activity and a modern pursuit. To excel at soccer meant to embrace and advance modernity.

With this in mind, intellectuals from the Argentine Northwest saw the Campeonato Argentino as an historic opportunity to regain a measure of the national prominence the region had lost over the previous fifty years. From 1870 to 1930, during Argentina's period of spectacular economic and demographic growth—a phenomenon most benefiting Buenos Aires and its neighboring provinces—the northwestern Andean region remained for the most part untransformed. The European-descended, cosmopolitan porteño became in many instances the default formulation of Argentine national identity, a formulation that porteños eagerly projected abroad. The largely mixed-race provinces of the northwest, in contrast, came to be perceived as uncivilized and regressive.<sup>27</sup> Intellectuals in Santiago del Estero—"undoubtedly the most backward of all the Argentine provinces," as wrote one porteño newspaper<sup>28</sup>—and neighboring Tucumán were keen to disprove porteño stereotypes by playing quality soccer. The Tucumán newspaper *El Orden*, possibly the most influential daily in the Argentine Northwest, envisioned a dialogue between porteños in which Tucumán's superlative

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<sup>27</sup>The idea of cosmopolitan Buenos Aires the paragon of Argentine identity was not without its critics. The *criollismo* movement romanticized rural culture, which they linked with traditional, conservative, Hispanic values.

<sup>28</sup>"Sketches of Northern Argentina," *Buenos Aires Herald*, October 9, 1920, p. 9.

soccer play had compelled them to recognize provincial worth. The porteños are imagined to marvel:

If they play soccer so well in Tucumán; if up there they've produced players worthy of competing with our own; if, when it comes to down to it, in the northern regions they have the tools necessary to develop quality sport, it is because up there they promote healthy behavior and the physical improvement of our race.

The writer concluded: "That's what they'll say in the big capital. They'll have discovered us. Tucumán will no longer just seem like one big pile of sugar bags bathed in *ingenio* [sugar processing plant] smoke."<sup>29</sup> Another editorial a short time later added that excellence in the Campeonato Argentino would help "those [porteños] consider us less Indian and less backward."<sup>30</sup>

Though both porteños and provincials deposited elevated hopes into the Campeonato Argentino, there is little evidence to suggest it fulfilled the ambitions of either party. In the case of the porteños, the notion of the Campeonato Argentino as a state project never became widely reproduced beyond the speeches of tournament officials and their government sponsors. Still, by infusing the competition with state-building rhetoric, the tournament organizers succeeded in attracting the necessary material support and moral sanction of national and provincial governments. In the case of the provincials, the quest for a broader, more geographically inclusive formulation of national identity yielded mixed results. On one hand, as provincial teams excelled throughout the 1920s they forced porteños to relinquish their claims to national supremacy in a prestigious, widely popular activity. And on an institutional level, as will

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<sup>29</sup>"Es un hecho cuya significación sobrepasa en mucho las proporciones de un mero acontecimiento sportivo," *El Orden* [Tucumán], August 31, 1920, p. 4.

<sup>30</sup>"El primer campeonato nacional," *ibid.*, October 7, 1920, p. 5.



be discussed in subsequent sections, excellence in the Campeonato Argentino provided *provincianos* an avenue through which to force their way onto the all-important national soccer team, a uniquely emblematic institution traditionally dominated by porteños. However, as we shall see, these unprecedented, highly symbolic physical encounters between porteños and provincials also created a tension as cultural and racially-motivated stereotypes of provincial behavior were redeployed and intensified.

### **Regionally Contested Formulations of National Identity**

In planning the logistics of the Campeonato Argentino—a celebration of "national acquaintanceship"<sup>31</sup>—the porteño organizing committee spared no expense. Provincial players made the two- or three-day journey to Buenos Aires in first-class sleeper trains or, in some cases, river steamers. Once in the capital city, delegations were typically installed in elite hotels in the heart of downtown Buenos Aires, near the traditional arteries of 9 de Julio or Avenida de Mayo. Much time was set aside for a wide-ranging social agenda designed to acquaint players from different parts of the country with one another as well as with the splendor of their nation's capital. Provincial players were bustled onto car tours around the city, trips to the theater, and boat outings on the Río de la Plata, all financed by porteño authorities. Organizers particularly hoped that for provincial players—for most of whom, as mentioned this would be their first-ever trip to Buenos Aires—the opportunity to roam the streets of the national capital would elicit wonder, admiration, and, ultimately, identification with a greater national cause.

Reflecting years later on the inaugural 1920 Campeonato Argentino, Beccar Varela

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<sup>31</sup>*Sesiones del Concejo Deliberante de la Ciudad de Buenos Aires Correspondientes al 2º periodo ordinario y de prórroga* no. 52 (Buenos Aires, September-October 1920): 754.

would say, “[The provincial players] have been able to admire [Buenos Aires'] beauty, its buildings, its theaters, its public walkways and its important establishments. They've toured the city, and from those tours they've carried back to their home provinces the most enthusiastic comments.”<sup>32</sup> Indeed, in numerous interviews, players from the provinces reported emphatically positive impressions of the nation's capital.<sup>33</sup>

Even with all this, the provincial delegations were not so much tourists as they were ambassadors. Their agenda, for instance, featured visits to major factories and cultural institutions. The delegations took on an even more symbolic, emissary role during cordial visits to congressmen (from their home provinces and from Buenos Aires), mayors, governors, and, on three occasions, with the nation's president.<sup>34</sup> However, provincial players frequented newspaper headquarters more than any other porteño institution. From 1924 to 1930, *Crítica*, *Ultima Hora*, *La Argentina*, *La República*, *La Calle*, and *El Mundo* filled their pages with features and photographs of the visiting delegations. Upon arriving in Buenos Aires days before the tournament, provincial delegates would undertake a media marathon, rushing from newspaper office to newspaper office, where they would pose for the standard group photographs and provide a lithographic copy of a handwritten greeting to the paper's readers, complete with signatures. Here the delegates continued playing the role of provincial emissaries to a porteño readership: players answered basic questions about their respective provinces and

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<sup>32</sup>Asociación Amateurs de Football, *Memorias y Balance* (1920), 25.

<sup>33</sup>See, for instance, “Si los jujeños pudieran, transformarían los conventos provincianos en bataclanes,” *Crítica*, October 1, 1928, p.5; *ibid*, October 2, 1928, p.4; *El Grafico*, October 13, 1928, p.15.

<sup>34</sup>In 1926 and 1927 the provincial team captains visited President Alvear in his Casa Rosada office, during which he promised to attend the championship match, a promise he would fulfill. And in 1928 shortly before returning to Santiago del Estero, the santiagueño team visited newly-reelected President Yrigoyen at his private residence.

about provincial life, much of it veering—intentionally—into the banal or even comical. *Crítica* newspaper in particular constructed "country bumpkin" narratives about their provincial guests, arranging photographic poses with folk guitars and ponchos. Reporters peppered players with questions about elevators, city traffic, and tall buildings, hoping for awe-filled responses. More often than not, the reporters themselves admitted a degree of surprise: the provincials were more cosmopolitan than they had realized. The Chaco players tangoed admirably ("frankly we must confess that they wouldn't do badly in any dance hall"); the Río Negro players knew the Charleston and delighted in the aggressiveness of porteño women; and the Jujuy delegates enjoyed themselves in emblematic Buenos Aires nightclubs.<sup>35</sup> These newspaper features on the visiting *provincianos*, often occupying three to four full pages of daily editions during the last week of September and first weeks of October, served to introduce subjects from the *interior* to a porteño readership. Although they perpetuated stereotypes of provincial behavior, these widely circulated encounters with the press served to narrate for porteño readers the basic contours—geographical, social, and cultural—of their country. On this level of representation, too, the tournament seemed to be fulfilling the goals of national "acquaintanceship" that its founders had proposed.

The theme of national interconnectedness, already written into the organizational structure of the tournament, was emphasized repeatedly by the competition's creators and promoters. "Rarely have we felt more Argentine, more wholly national, without borders or rivalries," declared Adrián Beccar Varela after the inaugural tournament in 1920.

"Awakening and helping these feelings take root has been the greatest triumph of the

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<sup>35</sup>*Crítica*, October 7, 1927, p. 11; "Si los jujeños pudieran, transformarían los conventos provincianos en bataclanes," *ibid*, October 1, 1928, p.5.

Campeonato Argentino.”<sup>36</sup> According to Dr. José Castiglione, leader of the Santiago del Estero delegation and president of Santiago del Estero's Liga Cultural de Football, the intermingling of geographically diverse players and officials served to break down regionally-bound cultural barriers such as accent or social behavior. At the close of the 1922 tournament he hailed the visiting provincial players as the "spiritual current of Argentine blood . . . a spiritual current arriving at this great metropolis in order to fuse itself [with others].”<sup>37</sup> For Castiglione, this "spiritual" blending was brought about as different Argentine "customs and modes intermix[ed]." The santiagueño lawyer and delegate waxed poetic to a banquet hall replete with political figures, soccer officials, players and reporters: "Our ways of talking mesh together; our ways of singing are transfused. . . . Our classic regional 'tone' in its most original variations...melds with the quick, lively tone of the porteño; the supposed humility of provincial behavior receives a lesson from the discrete piquancy of Pampas Argentines.”<sup>38</sup> In Castiglione's vision, provincial behavioral norms yielded to porteño cultural and social modes. The intermingling of scores of soccer players from all corners of the country made possible by the Campeonato Argentino seemed to be creating a more *national* Argentine citizen—one to be celebrated by the provincial beneficiaries.

The seriousness with which the Buenos Aires-based Asociación Amateurs approached the Campeonato Argentino was reflected not only in the social agenda surrounding the competition, but also in the soccer agenda. One of the biggest sources of excitement for provincial players was the opportunity to meet and compete against the

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<sup>36</sup>Asociación Amateurs de Football, *Memorias y Balance* (1920), 25.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid, "Discurso del Dr. José F. L. Castiglione," in *Memorias y Balance* (1922), 21-22.

<sup>38</sup>Ibid.

porteño soccer celebrities of the day. The Capital Federal, Buenos Aires Province, and Rosario squads counted among their ranks bona fide superstars like national team goalie Octavio Díaz from Rosario Central; Independiente's portly and prolific Manuel Seoane; Rosario's South American champion Florindo Bearzotti; Sportivo de Almagro's renowned defender Humberto Recanatini; Estudiantes de la Plata's magnificent center-forward Manuel Ferreira; and, from 1927 onward, the legendary Boca Juniors trio Domingo Tarasconi, Roberto Cherro, and Ludovico Bidoglio. Due to the increasingly nationalized sports press, these porteño players were already household names for provincial players and fans. The agreement between the tournament organizers and powerful club authorities to risk their superstars' health on a largely symbolic inter-regional tournament—a concession unimaginable in today's sports world—reflected the powers of persuasion of Adrián Beccar Varela, animated by his belief in the social importance of the tournament. That the tournament featured many of Argentina's biggest sports stars from its most prestigious clubs augmented nation-wide interest in the competition and reinforced the sense of national togetherness projected by the event, which in turn lent the Buenos Aires soccer authorities credibility in the Argentine *interior*. Provincial players came to relish their encounters with porteño stars, and in some cases,<sup>39</sup> these encounters led to lifelong friendships.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>39</sup>*El Liberal*, October 6, 1927, p. 5; *ibid.*, October 7, 1927, p. 5; "Nuestro team merecía el título de campeón por su compartamiento dentro y fuera del field," *ibid.*, October 20, 1928, p. 5.

<sup>40</sup>The santiagueño star Segundo Luna, for instance, began a lifelong correspondence and friendship with Estudiantes de la Plata player Manuel Ferreira. Private papers of Segundo Luna; Jorge Gómez (son of Segundo Luna), in discussion with the author, November 2009.

## Stereotypes of Provincialism

While the Campeonato Argentino elicited a vibrant discourse of national unity, particularly from tournament officials and their government patrons, it also became the catalyst for the cultural and racialized stereotyping of provincial players. Adrián Beccar Varela, the tournament's mastermind and chief executor, embedded a patronizing master-student discourse in the justifications for the tournament's existence. For Beccar Varela, the tournament was less a celebratory exploration of provincial soccer skills than an opportunity for porteño players to teach proper technique to the players from the interior, who, it went without saying, were in need of tutorship. Through the tournament, the porteño Asociación Amateurs would "demonstrate to the players from the confines of the Republic how soccer is played in the Capital, so that they are stimulated by it and they perfect their skills."<sup>41</sup> Just as the visit to Buenos Aires would constitute a "general school of culture" for the provincial players,<sup>42</sup> competing against porteños in the tournament would enroll them in "first school of Argentine soccer."<sup>43</sup>

It is unclear why porteños were so sure provincial players needed to improve their playing skills given the fact that porteños—particularly fans and reporters—were wholly unfamiliar with soccer from the interior. While porteño teams had begun touring the Argentine Interior in earnest in the late 1910s and early 1920s the porteño press and viewing public had had no extensive contact with teams from the northeast and northwest

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<sup>41</sup>Asociación Amateurs de Football, *Memorias y Balance* (1920), 24. For other examples, see "Después del campeonato argentino," *Crítica*, October 14, 1920, p. 8; "El fútbol del interior," *La Cancha*, October 13, 1928, p. 2.

<sup>42</sup>Asociación Amateurs de Football, *Memorias y Balance* (1924), 46.

<sup>43</sup>Ibid, *Memorias y Balance* (1921), 24.

in particular; a presumption of general provincial inferiority was, no doubt, at play.<sup>44</sup> This presumption had seemed accurate when during the inaugural tournament some provincial players could scarcely keep their feet during matches. In reality, some provincial players, accustomed to playing on dirt fields, were taken aback by the effect of playing on highly cultivated grass, particularly players on the team representing the Corrientes province.<sup>45</sup> For the tabloid *Crítica*, the sight of the *correntinos* slipping awkwardly about the field was soon replaced by an even more diverting spectacle: provincial players switching out their cleats for *alpargatas*, the soft, slipper-like domestic shoes of lower-class Argentina, which would presumably be of more use to them on the slick porteño playing surface.<sup>46</sup> The *alpargata*-shod *provincianos* came to represent for some porteño observers the clash between the materially and technically endowed Buenos Aires and the impoverished, uncultured provinces. Though it can be traced back to the single episode involving the Corrientes players during the tournament's first year—and even though, perhaps more importantly, it was based on concretely differing playing conditions linked to questions of climate—the alpargatas incident soon became the stuff of comedic legend. Seven years after the inaugural competition, *Crítica* still referred to the tournament as the "Alpargatas Championship."<sup>47</sup> Years and even decades later, more mainstream sports writers would embellish the tale of the 1920 tournament, reminiscing

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<sup>44</sup>The exception to this, the visit of the August 1920 Federación Tucumana team discussed earlier in this chapter. Despite the press coverage at the time, the success of the Tucumán team on this occasion had scant long-term impact on the ways the porteño press characterized provincial soccer.

<sup>45</sup>The 1927 La Pampa team and the 1928 Río Negro, both debuting, respectively, in the Campeonato Argentino those years, voiced similar complaints regarding the playing surface of Buenos Aires soccer fields. See *Crítica*, October 3 1927, p. 6; and "Si los jujeños pudieran, transformarían los coventos provincianos en bataclanes," *ibid.*, October 1, 1928, p.5.

<sup>46</sup>*Crítica*, October 10, 1920, p. 10.

<sup>47</sup>*Crítica*, October 3, 1927, p. 11.

about the barefoot provincial hordes roaming the civilized stadia of Buenos Aires.<sup>48</sup>

These accounts of provincial behavior served to reinforce perceptions of regionalized difference between central Argentina and the *interior*. However, as shall be seen, it is this sense of difference, particularly in realm of playing style, which would soon earn provincial teams admiration nation-wide and oblige porteño observers to rethink their conception of normative sporting behavior, as well as their conceptions of Argentine national identity.

Much of porteño stereotyping of provincials occurred in the realm of race. Time and time again, journalists marveled at the skin color of their guests from the *interior*, as if discovering them for the first time. The porteño sports media deployed a litany of epithetical nicknames for provincial players, alternately delivered with affected playfulness or bald antagonism. These epithets competed with the official, more inclusivist discourse. In the popular press, the provincials were sometimes *chacareros* [farmers],<sup>49</sup> *payucanos* [hicks],<sup>50</sup> and *pajueranos* [hillbillies],<sup>51</sup> indicating a geographical foreignness and presuming a rural provenance. Other times nicknames like "savages,"<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>48</sup>Ibid, October 2, 1928, p. 11. For other accounts of the alpargatas anecdote, see *El Gráfico*, October 8, 1927, pp. 16-17; and Carlos V. Benegas' account, "El Campeonato Argentino," in *Historia del Fútbol Argentino*, ed. Héctor Chaponick (Buenos Aires: Editorial Eiffel, 1955), 3:303-330. Here Benegas attributes this incident to the 1921 Mendoza team. See also Beccar Varela's own account of this in Asociación Amateurs de Football, *Memorias y Balance* (1923), 18.

<sup>49</sup>*Crítica*, March 5, 1925, p. 15; *ibid.*, September 26, 1928, p. 11; *La Argentina*, October 6, 1928, p. 11.

<sup>50</sup>*La Cancha*, October 13, 1928, p. 2; *El Gráfico*, October 20, 1928, p. 16; *Última Hora*, October 17, 1928, p. 10.

<sup>51</sup>*La Cancha*, October 13, 1928, p. 2.

<sup>52</sup>Ibid, October 6, 1928, front page.



*indios* [Indians],<sup>53</sup> "Guaraní,"<sup>54</sup> "Quichúa"<sup>55</sup> [sic], and "Toba"<sup>56</sup> referenced specific indigenous groups, linking the players culturally or racially to demographics widely held to be inferior. More physically descriptive terms like "sun-worn"<sup>57</sup> and "bronze-faced"<sup>58</sup> had a physical orientation bordering on the racial, as did the preferred moniker for the Santiago del Estero team, the "pelo duros" [stiff-haired].<sup>59</sup>

Amplifying the message was the fact that provincial delegations occasionally embraced the exclusionary, ethno-racial roles projected onto them. The most notable example of this first occurred in the spectacular opening ceremony of the 1927 Campeonato Argentino, when the entire Santiago team "saluted the Buenos Aires crowd with a traditional greeting in Quichúa [sic]."<sup>60</sup> The "Quichúa" cheer elicited great enthusiasm from the Buenos Aires crowd and was repeated before and after each subsequent match, as well as during interviews with reporters. "Huaykey Causay" became the santiagueños' trademark greeting and farewell. True, as with most of their fellow provincials, none of the santiagueño players were socially or culturally indigenous

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<sup>53</sup>*El Mundo*, October 9, 1928, p. 122; *El Gráfico*, October 13, 1928, p. 17; *ibid.*, October 20, 1928, p. 16; *ibid.*, p. 41.

<sup>54</sup>*El Mundo* September 29, 1928, p.23.

<sup>55</sup>*El Gráfico* October 13, 1928, p.17.

<sup>56</sup>*Crítica* October 8, 1927, p. 9.

<sup>57</sup>*La Nación* September 30, 1928, 2<sup>nd</sup> section, front page; *La Argentina*, October 12, 1928, p. 12.

<sup>58</sup>*El Gráfico* October 1, 1927, p.16; *El Mundo*, October 12, 1928, p.22; *El Gráfico* October 13, 1928, p.9.

<sup>59</sup>*La Cancha*, July 29, 1928, p. 8; *ibid.*, October 13, 1928, front page; *El Gráfico*, October 13, 1928, p. 17; *ibid.*, October 20, 1928, p. 16. "Pelo duro" is perhaps the most enduring epithet of the era. Local remembrances of the champion Santiago del Estero team still refer to them as the "pelo duros of 1928." See Benegas, 311; and *El Liberal* [Santiago del Estero], December 22, 1999, p. 10; *ibid.*, March 4, 2001, p. 4; *ibid.*, October 12, 2002, p. 6; *ibid.*, March 27, 2004, p. 16.

<sup>60</sup>*Crítica*, October 6, 1927, p. 11. See also *El Liberal* [Santiago del Estero], October 10, 1927, front page.

(a couple of them were the children the European immigrants). Their skin hue aside, to a man the players were urban-born, and they lived, worked, and played soccer in their province's capital city. Still, the actual socio-cultural background of the players was beside the point. Porteño reporters and children alike professed their delight for and affection with the aboriginal cheer.<sup>61</sup> The santiagueños had made themselves crowd favorites—at the cost of perpetuating their role as *peloduros quichúas*. Contrasted culturally and racially in this fashion with their modernized, white, European porteño cousins, the santiagueños became solidified as archetypes of otherness. The otherizing of provincial players during the tournament was indicative of the deep-set cultural divide between regions. Even though some soccer authorities and political officials spent considerable effort convincing the *provincianos* of their inclusion into a broader formulation of national belonging, the Campeonato Argentino proved unable to diminish the cultural hierarchization of regional difference.

### **The Rise of the Santiagueño Playing Style**

During the tournament's early years, events on the soccer field seemed to confirm broader porteño sentiments of superiority. Teams representing Buenos Aires won the first eight iterations of the tournament, sometimes in convincing fashion. Accordingly, from 1920 to 1925 porteño sports writers approached each iteration of the Campeonato Argentino with a sense of jocular cockiness. Victory for Buenos Aires, fount of every Argentine blessing, would go without saying. Teams from provinces that were economically, culturally, and even racially subordinate to Buenos Aires—went the

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<sup>61</sup>Jorge Gómez, son of santiagueño star Segundo Luna, believed the cheer was coached to the players by Santiago league officials, including José F. L. Castiglione. Conversation with the author, September 2009.

logic—should by rights be incapable of defeating porteño teams at a British, gentleman's game.<sup>62</sup> It is precisely within this logic, however, that a provincial victory could force a measure of respect from the Capital.



**Figure 3. Caricature of Segundo Luna. “They call him, affectionately, ‘pelo duro’.”**  
*La Cancha*, July 28, 1928, p. 2.

<sup>62</sup>Those same porteños, it will be seen in chapter five of this dissertation, feared this same condescending colonial gaze applied to its own soccer players by Europeans.

Santiago del Estero's run to the national championship began in the mid-1920s. In 1925 the team, known officially as the Liga Cultural de Santiago del Estero, returned to the competition after a two-year absence. That year and again in 1926 the santiagueños routed provincial opponents from Salta, Mendoza, and Rafaela (Santa Fe), earning a third-place finish in both tournaments. In both of these tournaments the Liga Cultural succumbed to Buenos Aires teams in narrow semifinal losses.<sup>63</sup> During these years the santiagueños earned a national reputation as the best provincial team in the country.<sup>64</sup> Individual santiagueño players—left winger Segundo Luna, midfielder and team captain José Díaz, and defender Alberto Helman—attracted national notice, with prestigious sports magazine *El Gráfico* rating Luna "the best left winger in Argentine soccer" and Helman "one of the best players in the interior."<sup>65</sup> The 1927 tournament became a watershed for the Liga Cultural when, after defeating the San Juan team 8-1, they were drawn against powerhouse Rosario for the next round. The Rosario team, playing in the Campeonato Argentino for the first time since 1920 and boasting several national team regulars in their squad, was together with the Buenos Aires teams regarded as a title favorite. After a thrilling and furiously contested match played in a packed Boca Juniors' stadium, the santiagueño team emerged victorious, led by the brilliant Luna. Although the following day the Liga Cultural would lose 4-3 in a quarterfinal

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<sup>63</sup>These losses are notable for the controversial refereeing decisions, which favored the Buenos Aires teams and were condemned by elements of the porteño and provincial press. See *El Gráfico*, October 17, 1925, p. 19; *Crítica*, October 12, 1925, p. 11; *El Gráfico*, October 16, 1926, pp. 16-17; *La Gaceta* [Tucumán], October 11, 1926, p. 9; *ibid.*, October 31, 1926, p. 14.

<sup>64</sup>*El Gráfico*, October 2, 1926, p. 5; *Crítica*, October 9, 1926, p. 10; *El Gráfico*, October 23, 1926, p. 11. As in all other parts of this dissertation, Rosario, Argentina's second largest city, is not included in this formulation of "provincial" or the "interior."

<sup>65</sup>*El Gráfico*, October 9, 1926, p. 8; *ibid.*, October 16, 1926, PP. Both players were featured on the cover of the that magazine, as well as in feature-length articles, during the late 1920s.

upset against the Chaco team, the 3-2 triumph over Rosario made the santiagueños a national sports sensation. Condescended *Crítica*: "Yesterday the santiagueños revealed skills as remarkable as they are uncommon in teams that come from the interior."<sup>66</sup> Added *El Gráfico* in a lengthy technical analysis of the match: "The santiagueños are the first provincial players to successfully assimilate the teachings of the [porteño] masters."<sup>67</sup> After observing the santiagueños during a post-tournament exhibition match in La Plata against local giants Estudiantes, the local paper *El Día* remarked: "Our fans have been able to observe that the sportsmen from Santiago del Estero know all of soccer's secrets, and their tactics and technique are every bit as fine as those of good porteño teams."<sup>68</sup>

On October 7, 1928, in the quarterfinals of the 1928 tournament, Santiago del Estero made Argentine sports history by defeating the Capital Federal team in the River Plate stadium.<sup>69</sup> It was, as discussed at the beginning of this chapter, Buenos Aires' first-ever defeat in the tournament.<sup>70</sup> Five days later, having in the meantime dispatched the La Pampa team in the semifinal, the santiagueños trounced the Entre Ríos squad 3-1 in the final match, played before a record crowd of 30,000. The popular reactions to Santiago's 1928 championship will be discussed shortly. It should be noted, however,

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<sup>66</sup>*Crítica*, October 7, 1927, p. 12.

<sup>67</sup>*El Gráfico*, October 8, 1927, pp. 16-17.

<sup>68</sup>Republished in *El Liberal* [Santiago del Estero], October 13, 1927, p. 5.

<sup>69</sup>According to match reports, the final score, 3-2, belied Santiago's domination throughout the match. The porteño goals came toward the end of the game.

<sup>70</sup>The Capital team had been defeated by lowly Pergamino during Buenos Aires provincial qualifying rounds in 1926. But either the Capital team or the Provincia team (the latter, again, drawing from local clubs like Racing de Avellaneda, Independiente de Avellaneda, and Estudiantes de la Plata) had won the championship trophy each year of the tournament's existence.

that Santiago del Estero had challenged regionally discriminatory concepts at one of the very points on which they were predicated: skill on the soccer field. Though some writers, predictably, excoriated the porteño players for underperforming, others were struck by the differences between santiagueño and porteño/"*rioplatense*" playing styles.<sup>71</sup> The contrast seemed to carry with it broader implications that extended into the realm of regional cultures and national identity. In an interview with *Crítica* the day after claiming the championship, Santiago's captain José Díaz made an initial attempt to articulate the main style difference between the two teams:

In my opinion, the forward line of the Capital team is more theatrical, more spectacular, more ostentatious than ours. They overuse, in a word, the dribble, something we never resort to. Our forwards are quick and decisive. When we have the ball, we run without stopping to show off some suicidal trick, which oftentimes can distract from the primordial aim of scoring a goal. Running and making quick, exact passes—that's what drives [our play].<sup>72</sup>

Many sports writers agreed. Innumerable accounts describe the frantically paced and coldly efficient style of the santiagueños.<sup>73</sup> The Liga Cultural used the breakneck speed of their five attackers to launch long passes up the sidelines. Receiving the ball, the speedy attackers would then cut inwards to test the goalkeeper with long-distance

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<sup>71</sup>Referring to the Río de la Plata estuary that separates Buenos Aires and Montevideo, the term *rioplatense* was used synonymously in both Argentina and Uruguay to denote a quality shared between the neighboring countries. The more specific usage analyzed here denotes a quality shared solely between the two capital cities, along with other contiguous parts of the Argentine Littoral, excluding other national regions from the formulation. Please see chapter three for an in-depth discussion of the development of a *rioplatense* or *criollo* playing style.

<sup>72</sup>*Crítica*, October 8, 1928, p. 8.

<sup>73</sup>See, for example, *El Gráfico*, October 9, 1926, p. 16; *Última Hora*, October 11, 1928, p. 11; *Crítica*, October 3, 1927, p. 6; *El Gráfico*, October 8, 1927, pp. 16-17; *ibid.*, October 7 1927, p. 44; *El Liberal* [Santiago del Estero], October 8, 1928, front page; *ibid.*, October 9, 1928, p. 5; *La Argentina*, October 12, 1928, p. 12; *El Gráfico*, October 13, 1928, p. 9; *La Nación*, October 13, 1928, p. 6; *ibid.*, October 13, 1928, p. 17; *El Liberal* [Santiago del Estero], October 20, 1928, p. 5; *ibid.*, October 20, 1928, p. 5; and Benegas, 311.

shots, or sprint to the end-line before centering the ball goalward to onrushing teammates. Furious running, relentless and forceful shooting ("with rare accuracy"),<sup>74</sup> and single-minded attacking created a holistically simple, effective technique—"their own [santiagueño] technique."<sup>75</sup> The porteño playing style, on the other hand, was built around an exhibition of ball skill and dribbling.<sup>76</sup> Goals typically involved a mazy, elaborate multi-pass move in which pleasing the crowd seemed just as much an end as scoring the goal itself.<sup>77</sup> The contrast was instructive for the nation's most influential sports columnists. For prominent *Crítica* sports columnist José Gabriel, the ornate porteño style of play reflected a vaguely-defined yet deep-seated social inclination toward theatricality and needless embellishment.<sup>78</sup> *El Gráfico* columnist "Chantecler" (Alfredo Rossi), one of the most widely-read sports writers on the continent, echoed these sentiments, but turned them on their head. Chantecler claimed that the porteño playing style was, in effect, the classic *rioplatense* soccer culture shared by other urban centers

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<sup>74</sup>*El Gráfico*, October 8, 1928, p. 44

<sup>75</sup>*Crítica*, October 14, 1927, p. 10.

<sup>76</sup>The history of the porteño style, sometimes called *criollo* and other times *rioplatense*, is discussed in chapter five of this dissertation. It has also been masterfully analyzed by Eduardo Archetti in his book *Masculinidades: fútbol, tango y polo en la Argentina* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Antropofagia, 2003), 75-156.

<sup>77</sup>A santiagueño observer of the Liga Cultural-Capital Federal game described the contrast in playing styles with memorable irony: "Capital plays soccer with flourishes. Flourishes, many flourishes, and even more flourishes, but goals...none whatsoever. They looked like tango dancers doing figure-eights on a green carpet. The santiagueños, businesslike like all provincials, wanted nothing to do with the beautiful game and began shooting at the net, as if they could think of nothing but scoring goals! And they scored one, two, three . . . they got down to business, my friends." *El Liberal* [Santiago del Estero], October 17, 1928, p. 5.

<sup>78</sup>*El Gráfico*, October 13, 1928, p. 16.

like Montevideo and Rosario: a "majestic," more beautiful aesthetic, but less bluntly effective than the *santiagueño* style.<sup>79</sup>

Aesthetic preference aside, the porteño crowds attending the santiagueño matches sympathized vocally with the santiagueños. By 1926 the provincials had become crowd favorites due to not only to their "enormous enthusiasm and heart,"<sup>80</sup> but also to their vertiginous style of play.<sup>81</sup> In no match, however, were the santiagueños so vociferously supported as during their 1928 encounter against the Buenos Aires team. Much to the frustration and resentment of some of the porteño players,<sup>82</sup> the "simple but marvelously precise" santiagueño style garnered the passion, admiration, and respect of their porteño compatriots. This new estimation went beyond the bounds of the soccer stadium. The same newspapers that had earlier dismissed the santiagueños as "hicks" and "Indians" now lauded the santiagueños as "the most Argentine of the Argentines" and a "legitimate symbol of nationalism."<sup>83</sup> The inter-regional encounters constructed by Campeonato Argentino had not erased regional differentiation, as its founders had hoped. However, it had proven able to expand formulations of national identity to admit and valorize new variants.

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<sup>79</sup>Ibid, October 20, 1928, p. 6.

<sup>80</sup>*La Cancha*, October 6, 1928, front page; *El Gráfico*, October 9, 1926, p. 16; *La Argentina*, October 1, 1928, p. 14.

<sup>81</sup>*La Calle*, September 29, 1928, p. 9.

<sup>82</sup>A disillusioned Humberto Recanatini, the Capital Federal team captain, vowed to never again take part in the Campeonato Argentino. *El Gráfico*, October 20, 1928, p. 10.

<sup>83</sup>See *El Mundo*, October 9, 1928 p. 22; and *El Gráfico*, October 20, 1928, p. 16. See also this editorial in *La Argentina*, October 8, 1928, front page: "Our crowd wanted the Argentine champion to be from the provinces. It was the unanimous wish of every fan...the victory of the santiagueños is a victory for Argentine soccer."





**Figure 4. Santiago del Estero national championship team, 1928. *La Nación*, October 21, 1928, p.4. From the illustrated Sunday magazine.**

### **Santiago's Struggle for a More Inclusive Nationalism**

With its victory over teams from more populous and/or economically powerful regions—La Pampa, Entre Ríos, Salta, and, of course, Buenos Aires—Santiago fulfilled its role in a quintessential underdog story. "[It's the] glorification of the humble ones, the

diminishing of the great ones," enthused *La Nación* contributor Jack Day.<sup>84</sup> Added fellow pseudonymous columnist Dinty Moore, "The interior of the Republic has won the fight, after stripping from Buenos Aires—the enormous city and the rich province—the supremacy with which, because of generalized presumption, it had [previously] been recognized."<sup>85</sup> Santiago's victory was also seen to fulfill one of the stated basic objectives of the Campeonato Argentino: to equilibrate the level of play between the Pampas provinces and the interior, transforming soccer into a nationally shared practice. A week before Santiago's landmark victory over the Capital Federal team, soccer weekly *La Cancha* stated, "As Argentines...we declare that the National Championship<sup>86</sup> will have fulfilled its objective the day that a team from the Interior becomes champion. That won't mean that Buenos Aires soccer has degenerated, but that the Interior has evened things up."<sup>87</sup> Writer José Gabriel noted that just as porteños needed to visit the Interior to become more authentically Argentine, so, too, did the championship trophy. "The national soccer trophy, wishing to progress, took a little trip to the interior," he wrote. "When it returns, it will be more Argentine."<sup>88</sup>

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<sup>84</sup>*La Nación Revista Gráfica*, October 21, 1928, p. 7.

<sup>85</sup>*La Nación*, October 11, 1928, p. 17. See also *La Argentina*, October 8, 1928, front page.

<sup>86</sup>Many Argentines employed the term "National Championship" interchangeably with "Campeonato Argentino," reflecting the fact that until its creation, nothing existed resembling a nation-wide soccer competition. Whether involving clubs or combined teams, soccer competitions were typically city-wide affairs, restricted to individual cities and their suburbs. The Asociación Amateurs de Football, the Buenos Aires league responsible for the creation of the Campeonato Argentino, was a minor exception: it included two teams from nearby La Plata: Estudiantes de la Plata (joined 1914) and Gimnasia y Esgrima de la Plata (joined 1916).

<sup>87</sup>*La Cancha*, September 29, 1928, p. 2.

<sup>88</sup>*Crítica*, October 13, 1928, p. 16.

"More Argentine" in this sense meant encompassing Argentines from beyond the Buenos Aires-dominated Pampas region. "When we say 'Argentines,' we are referring not solely to Argentines from the Capital and Rosario," wrote Jack Day in the prominent, abovementioned article for the *La Nación* Sunday magazine.<sup>89</sup> Inspired by Santiago's Campeonato Argentino victory, indictments of porteño exceptionalism resonated powerfully throughout Argentina because the conceptual reduction of "Argentina" to mean "Buenos Aires and Rosario" was especially evident in the realm of soccer. These prominent articles by Jack Day and Dinty Moore signaled the culmination of a national debate about the administration of the Argentine national soccer team (*selección nacional*), described in chapter two, a debate that vividly illustrated the broader consequences of Santiago's 1928 victory. Although the Campeonato Argentino was porteño-conceived, it played a major role in challenging this system, a development that began in 1925 and culminated with Santiago del Estero's 1928 championship victory described earlier.

Given the struggle between the Interior and Buenos Aires to control the national team discussed in chapter two, Santiago del Estero's 1928 Campeonato Argentino victory over Buenos Aires allowed Segundo Luna and Alberto Helman, as well as other players seemingly snubbed by the "national" team, the opportunity for revenge against their antagonists. Coming four months after Argentina's defeat in the Olympic final *sans santiagueños*, the triumph over Capital Federal in the tournament quarterfinals seemed to

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<sup>89</sup> *La Nación Revista Gráfica*, October 21, 1928, p. 7. See also this complaint levied by *La Cancha*, September 8, 1928, p. 2: "Disgracefully...for our league officials, only players from Buenos Aires and the Santa Fe province can defend the prestige of Argentine soccer."

represent the triumph of the interior against porteño interests.<sup>90</sup> The victory also made a porteño-centric national team seem a costly misstep in symbolic and in sporting terms. Its emphatic nature provided potent fodder for prominent porteño journalists like Day and Dinty Moore, who demanded the decentralization and institutional restructuring of the national team. The 1928 Campeonato Argentino also amplified a debate in Buenos Aires about the nature of the Argentine national team that would continue, unresolved, through the 1930 World Cup and into the middle of the twentieth century. In Santiago del Estero, however, voices demanding Santiago's inclusion into the national team and into broader formulations of national identity were both unequivocal and unanimous.

### **Regional Pride in the Wake of the 1928 Championship**

The seemingly calculated exclusion of provincial players from the national team, the most salient of examples of which involved santiagueños, was most keenly felt in that province. As discussed earlier, santiagueños of the 1920s witnessed porteño writers and porteño sports institutions excluding them from representative formulations of national identity in racial, economic, and cultural terms. In this light it is hardly surprising that santiagueños experienced the 1928 Campeonato Argentino as catharsis. Scenes of jubilation "never before seen [in Santiago]" marked the return of the victorious provincial team from Buenos Aires.<sup>91</sup> Amid "indescribable enthusiasm,"<sup>92</sup> the city's streets

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<sup>90</sup>A number of the players who played against Luna in the Capital-Santiago game were, of course, national team regulars, such as Pedro Omar, Humberto Recanatini, Juan Maglio, and Carlos Peucelle. Three others, Roberto Cherro, Juan Evaristo, and Rodolfo Orlandini, had been with him on the 1928 Olympic team in Amsterdam. Other members of the 1928 Olympic team—Manuel Ferreira, Natalio Perinetti, and Angel Bossio—had played for the Buenos Aires Province team eliminated earlier in the tournament by the Capital Federal team. The Campeonato Argentino match seemed very much a Santiago victory over the Argentine national team.

<sup>91</sup>*La Nación*, October 18, 1928, p. 13.

<sup>92</sup>*Ibid.*

overflowed "like never before, neither for religious nor political reasons, nor for any other reason."<sup>93</sup> The victory parade, eight blocks long, was an unutterably raucous affair, and when it passed through upscale Belgrano Avenue and Libertad Street, the paraded players were bathed in a shower of flowers thrown from balconies and from low-flying air planes. The Governor declared a provincial holiday, and the victorious players found themselves the object of numerous, massively attended tributes, banquets, and theatrical functions.

The specific celebratory discourse produced in Santiago fixated on Buenos Aires. Remembering Santiago's heavy defeats during the inaugural tournament and the desultory reactions they elicited from the porteño press, one writer boasted: "Those same players who suffered the crushing 7-2 defeat are today the same ones who are driving the emotional temperature of this country's sports world to dizzying heights. . . . Today, only a few years later, [the porteños] are calling them *maestros*."<sup>94</sup> Indeed, provincial newspapers from various parts of the country reaffirmed that the soccer student (Santiago del Estero/the interior) had overcome the master.<sup>95</sup> Both in the interior and the capital, however, the implications of Santiago's triumph seemed to extend beyond the realm of soccer. Just as the Tucumán paper *El Orden* had hoped, the triumph seemed to exact from porteños an unprecedented and general sense of respect. The victory also inspired an oft-repeated trope centered on the idea that the provinces "had come of age." The idea

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<sup>93</sup>*El Liberal* [Santiago del Estero], October 18, 1928, p. 5; *ibid.*, 30<sup>th</sup> Anniversary special edition, November 1928, p. 2.

<sup>94</sup>*Ibid.*, October 12, 1928, p. 2.

<sup>95</sup>See, for instance, *Los Principios* [Córdoba], October 12, 1928, p. 13 and October 18, 1928, PP; *La Gaceta* [Tucumán], October 14, 1928, p. 3; *La Voz del Interior* [Córdoba], October 15, 1928, p. 6.

of an annual soccer tournament endowing the Argentine interior with maturation did not seem ridiculous to Santiago league official José Castiglione, who declared as early as 1922, "The Campeonato Argentino will bestow on us adulthood."<sup>96</sup> Six years later, various porteño newspapers voiced this precise sentiment.<sup>97</sup> The "coming of age" discourse evident in the press, as well as the idea that provincial students had upended their porteño teachers, all channeled provincial thoughts toward the same underlying conclusion. As expressed by santiagueño daily *El Liberal* in its 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary special edition:

We have fulfilled the one undertaking that was lacking in our relations with Buenos Aires: triumphing over it in its own home. With that—a prestigious accomplishment that only adds to our spotless and solid history—we have established once and for all an equality with the Metropolis that, earlier, had only been presumed. . . . In sum, we have the same quality as Buenos Aires.<sup>98</sup>

Though press accounts well chronicle the Santiago public's massive outpouring of elation in the wake of the victory, historians are mostly left to guess as to how individual santiagueños experienced their 1928 national championship. Two singular texts from the Santiago daily *El Liberal*, however, provide tantalizing glimpses into the sentiments of the broader santiagueño public. The first is a selection of popular poetry submitted—spontaneously, it seems—to the newspaper in the wake of the Santiago's championship performance, selected and introduced by an unnamed writer. "Inspired by the long-

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<sup>96</sup>*Memoria de la Asociación Amateurs de Football Correspondiente al Ejercicio de 1922* (Buenos Aires: Asociación Amateurs de Football, 1922), p. 11. See also *Memoria de la Asociación Amateurs de Football Correspondiente al Ejercicio de 1924* (Buenos Aires: Asociación Amateurs de Football, 1924), p. 50.

<sup>97</sup>*El Mundo*, October 2, 1928, p. 22; *La Cancha*, October 13, 1928, p. 2, *La Argentina*, October 9, 1928, p. 10. See also *El Liberal* [Santiago del Estero], October 12, 1928, p. 2.

<sup>98</sup>*El Liberal*, 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary edition, November 1928, p. 2. See also a similar statement in *El Liberal*, October 17, 1928, p. 5: "Slow and steady, with perseverance and willpower, we've risen in the ranks, knocking Rosario and Buenos Aires from their place so that we can occupy it."

dreamt triumph of our local soccer players, the barriers holding back good judgment have been broken," the writer observed wryly. "The conquest of the national championship has awakened many poetic souls that had lain dormant."<sup>99</sup> The poems themselves—presuming their content was unaltered—constitute a rare example of working-class sports literature, some in the form of couplets, some in the form of odes, and even one arranged to be sung to the melody of a popular tango. Here, as elsewhere, Buenos Aires was not forgotten. Wrote one Miguel Angel Gallo: "Santiago's bringing home the championship / Buenos Aires's mouth has been shut / That foxes' den / Came crashing down, ka-boom! / Hicks, yes, they call us / But we've beaten them fair and square / And we don't want them to tread on us / Just because we're provincials."<sup>100</sup> Another poem—submitted by "Pedro from Barrio Oeste" with instructions that it be sung to Gardel's "Esta noche me emborracho"—attempted to conjure the porteño shame at being beaten by Santiago del Estero. "Suffer and bear it, little porteños / Because our boys / Know how to play/ . . . / And to think that years ago we were worthless / Those porteños who used to give us the go-around / Now know WE are the champions."<sup>101</sup> Rendering the porteños "porteñitos," Pedro not only refutes the idea of an *interior* substandard and beholden to Buenos Aires, but imagines a new, post-Campeonato world where the opposite is true.

*El Liberal* also attempted to register public sentiment and expressions of local pride in a lengthy report unusual for both its tone and subject matter. The report consisted of a series of "on-the-scene" interviews conducted the morning after the 3-2

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<sup>99</sup>*El Liberal*, October 24, 1928, p. 5.

<sup>100</sup>*Ibid.* The poem was entitled "It Makes Us So Proud!"

<sup>101</sup>*Ibid.* "To the Argentine Champions, From the Bottom of My Heart" was the name of Pedro's poem.

victory over the porteños. Here, too, respondents emphasized a sense of revenge. "I'm happier than ever," gushed Antonia del Carmen Gómez, mother of Segundo Luna.

"Those porteños didn't believe us. They looked down on us, and there they are. We've given them the go-around in their own backyard."<sup>102</sup> According to Elba Lía Fernández

Rojas, a university student from a well-to-do family, the santiagueño triumph

"demonstrated before the world and before the annals of sport that [soccer] is not an exclusive asset of the Federal Capital."<sup>103</sup> The most vehement and eloquent expression of

local resentment came from Bernardo Canal Feijóo, a 31 year-old lawyer and poet

eventually to become one of the most important intellectuals in the history of the

Argentine Northwest, as well as an academic of national prominence.<sup>104</sup> As the former

president of Club Atlético Santiago<sup>105</sup>—the oldest and most prestigious soccer club in

Santiago del Estero—as well as an occasional sports columnist for *El Liberal*,<sup>106</sup>

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<sup>102</sup>*El Liberal*, October 8, 1928 p. 5, "Reportes al público: Fe, entusiasmo y noble sentimiento localista alienta a los comentaristas del partido de ayer." Notable santiagueño lawyer—and soon-to-be owner of *El Liberal*—Antonio Castiglione echoed this sentiment in the report, as did his colleagues Juan Christensen and Francisco Cuquerella.

<sup>103</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>104</sup>Bernardo Canal Feijóo (1897-1982) was an essayist and poet who would become a leading Argentine intellectual during the latter half of the twentieth century. In 1928 Santiago del Estero, he was known as a lawyer, as the founder of an avant-garde literary group called La Brasa (f. 1925), and as a frequent contributor to *El Liberal*. During the 1930s he became an integral part of the *Martín Fierro* literary movement and published numerous works in the literary journal *Sur* as well as in *La Nación*. Canal Feijóo's last public undertaking in Santiago del Estero was the organization of the historic Primer Congreso de Planificación Integral del Noroeste Argentino (PINOA) in 1946, which put forth an ambitious plan for the economic integration of the Argentine Northwest. In 1947 Canal Feijóo moved definitively to Buenos Aires, where he continued writing, taught at various law schools and universities, and was made President of the Argentine Academy of Letters until his death in 1982.

<sup>105</sup>"Constitución de la Liga Santiagueña" in *El Liberal: 25 Años* (Santiago del Estero: El Liberal, 1923), 130.

<sup>106</sup>Ana Teresa Martínez, et al., *Los hermanos Wagner: entre ciencia, mito y poesía. Arqueología, campo arqueológico nacional y construcción de identidad en Santiago del Estero, 1920-1940* (Santiago del Estero: Ediciones Universidad Católica de Santiago del Estero, 2003), 84. A frequent contributor to *El Liberal* throughout the 1920s, Canal Feijóo was both an avid sportsman, as well as an early student of the sociology of sports. In addition to his term in the presidency of Club Atlético Santiago, he presented seminars on



Bernardo Canal Feijóo was well-acquainted with the characterizations of the Argentine *interior* and of santiagueños in particular emanating from the porteño sports press.

Having also completed a law degree in Buenos Aires in the late 1910s, Canal Feijóo's experiences with Buenos Aires, both first-hand and through the press, moved him to exult:

Yesterday's victory was perfect, that is, both material and moral. And in it I see something akin to the first serious defeat inflicted on that insolent porteño arrogance. The porteño is still under the influence of the worst provincialism: believing that the world has been made just for him, and that...the sun rises each day in La Boca and sets in Palermo.<sup>107</sup> Each of yesterday's santiagueño—provincial—goals delivered a blow to the hearts held captive by that naive vanity. And I'm sure that not one porteño failed to depart from the River Plate soccer field [yesterday] with a clearer concept of the true geographic breadth of our common fatherland.<sup>108</sup>

More than just *amour propre* or braggadocio, Canal Feijóo's indictment of porteño "arrogance" forms part of a centuries-long discourse of provincial grievance against not only Buenos Aires' economic and political domination of the *interior*, but also its perceived disdain toward the traditions and cultures of non-Pampas Argentina, evident in the sports pages analyzed earlier. Furthermore, by failing to visualize a nation whose vastness and diversity far transcended the boundaries of Buenos Aires, porteños were guilty of their own "provincialism." Canal Feijóo thus inverted the accusations of close-

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sports to La Brasa ("El deporte ensaya una revalorización individual," *El Liberal*, July 6, 1929) and dedicated his first book of poetry to the subject. See Canal Feijóo, *El penúltimo poema del football* (Santiago del Estero, 1924), a short set of poetry in high *vanguardista* style with illustrations by Canal Feijóo. One of the first literary works in Latin America with soccer as its subject matter—preceded only by Horacio Quiroga's "Juan Polti, half-back" (1918) and Juan Parra del Riego's "Polirritmo dinámico a Gradín, jugador de football" (1919)—*El penúltimo poema del fútbol* has until recent years been completely unknown to literary or sports scholars.

<sup>107</sup> La Boca and Palermo are neighborhoods in the city of Buenos Aires.

<sup>108</sup> *El Liberal*, October 8, 1928, p.5.

mindedness and anti-cosmopolitanism ever emanating from the national capital toward the interior. Similar themes would animate much of Canal Feijóo's early literary and socio-political work in Santiago del Estero; the statement cited above was his first known intervention on the topic. Canal Feijóo, for whom the Campeonato Argentino victory signified nothing less than a "serious defeat" of porteño predominance, had astutely ensured that his message would reach the widest audience possible. His declarations would be read and re-read in that special-edition *El Liberal*, on a historic day, in the most widely read source of print media: the daily sports section.

## CONCLUSION

Expressions of santiagueño pride were not limited to the realm of sports events or to the pages of *El Liberal*, though these were key elements in the construction and dissemination of statements in that vein. From 1927 to 1932 Santiago del Estero underwent a social and cultural blossoming into which the Campeonato Argentino victory was eagerly folded.<sup>109</sup> At the heart of this intellectual naissence were the scientific findings of the French-born archeologists Emilio and Duncan Wagner. Discoverers of a trove of indigenous ruins and artifacts near the Santiago-Chaco border, the Wagner brothers used their archeological finds to claim "ancient" roots for Santiago del Estero and assert for it a salient place in Argentine and world history.<sup>110</sup> The

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<sup>109</sup> Another corollary of this movement was the Santiago folk music movement led by Andrés Chazarreta. Like the Campeonato Argentino, the growing national prestige for *música folclórica*, of which the santiagueño Chazarreta was a leading pioneer, was seen as a manifestation of santiagueño self-worth, the realization of Santiago as a cultural center of the country, and a refutation of national perceptions of Santiago as a backward province. See Oscar Chamosa, *Breve historia del folclore argentino, 1920-1970: Identidad, política y nación* (Buenos Aires: Edhasa, 2012).

<sup>110</sup> The Wagner brothers' magnum opus was the sumptuous tome *La civilización Chaco-Santiagueña y sus correlaciones con las del Viejo Nuevo Mundo* (Buenos Aires: Compañía Impresora Argentina, 1934). See

Wagners, along with local ethnographer Orestes di Lullo and Canal Feijóo in particular, interpreted their archeological discoveries as evidence of an advanced, theretofore unknown civilization that had died out centuries earlier. While ultimately proven fallacious,<sup>111</sup> these claims inspired a flurry of literary, archeological, and museological activity that, during the period in question, made Santiago del Estero a topic of national and international news. The idea of an ancient and highly developed "Santiagueño-chaqueño" civilization endowed santiagueños with a sense of pride that muffled the attempts at ridicule emanating from central Argentina.

The Campeonato Argentino victory fit perfectly into this spirit of local affirmation. For Bernardo Canal Feijóo, who was intimately involved in promoting and translating the work of the Wagner brothers, the soccer championship was the present-day confirmation of a truth which now seemed to have historical roots: that the santiagueños were the heirs of an enlightened and advanced civilization. Triumph at soccer, which commanded influential discourses of morality and social healthfulness, seemed to redeem a poor province ridiculed by Buenos Aires and paralyzed by poverty and pessimism from within.<sup>112</sup> It actualized the academic claims of historical provincial greatness, bringing them into the modern day. When, shortly after the Campeonato

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also Beatriz Ocampo, *La Nación Interior. Canal Feijóo, Di Lullo y los Hermanos Wagner: El discurso culturalista de estos intelectuales en la provincia de Santiago del Estero* (Santiago del Estero: Editorial Antropofagia, 2004); Martínez, et al., *Los hermanos Wagner*.

<sup>111</sup>The ruins are believed to be Quechua in origin, constituting part of the southern edge of the Inca empire.

<sup>112</sup>*El Liberal's* 1923 and 1928 yearbooks, printed to celebrate the paper's 25<sup>th</sup> and 30<sup>th</sup> anniversaries and themselves indispensable sources for historians of the region, exemplify the pessimism that wracked many Northwestern intellectuals in the early twentieth century. This repository of commentary, together with *El Liberal* day-by-day archives, shows the mix of economic pessimism, anti-indigenous scientific racism, and environmental determinism against which Canal Feijóo and, later, Northwestern folk musicians, attempted to position themselves. See "La ciudad del pasado y presente," "A mis santiagueños," and "Problemas económicos de un pueblo indiferente" in the 1923 yearbook, pp. 21, 44, and 75.

Argentino's conclusion, an anonymous sports writer in *El Liberal*—almost certainly Canal Feijóo—wryly observed that Santiago was an "extremely ancient" civilization in soccer even though Buenos Aires thinks *it* "discovered" santiagueño soccer when the Campeonato Argentino began 1920, he was channeling that same sentiment.<sup>113</sup>

The late 1910s and 1920s were a transformative period in Argentine history. Profound demographic change by way of European immigration and internal migration, as well as political change through an increasingly centralized populist government, spurred Argentine politicians, pundits and thinkers to dissolve ethnic, regional, and class identities with the common goal of fomenting a uniquely “Argentine” sense of national belonging. The long-forgotten story of the Campeonato Argentino illustrates the different geographic and cultural factors that played into nation-building during a dynamic period of Argentine history. These examples highlight the constructive, cohesive powers of the institutionalization of soccer—its singular capacity to transcend geographical distance and highlight commonalities across regional and national borders just as often as it foments differentiation. Through competitive networks, even fierce rivals and geographically distant populations were tied together in stable, regulated patterns of interaction.

The national repercussions of the Campeonato Argentino were due in part to a unique conjunction of governmental support, tireless press attention, and a voracious public appetite for soccer competition. However, the Campeonato Argentino had a unique potential to articulate, funnel, or even exacerbate Argentina's internal social cleavages. Analyzing the discursive and institutional sources surrounding pedestrian yet transcendental encounters like the Capital Federal-Santiago del Estero match sheds light

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<sup>113</sup>*El Liberal*, October 14, 1928, p. 5.

on the quotidian contestations of Argentine subjectivities, showing the ways local and national power was configured on an everyday level—the very stuff at the heart of nation-building.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### THE *MACAQUITOS* AFFAIR: SOCCER, BLACKNESS, AND BRAZIL AS ARGENTINA'S RACIAL OTHER, 1919-1929

"MONKEYS IN BUENOS AIRES," the headline screamed. "A GREETING FOR THE 'ILLUSTRIOUS GUESTS'." Argentine Minister of Foreign Relations Honorio Pueyrredón must have spat his 6pm coffee onto page eight of that evening's October 3, 1920 edition of *Crítica*. He would have gone on to read, in growing disbelief, the following article:

The monkeys are already on Argentine soil. Today we'll have to turn on the lights at 4pm. We've seen them loping down our streets, doing cartwheels.

If there's one group of people that seem truly ridiculous, it's the Brazilians. They are colored entities who talk like us and try to mix in with the rest of the Americas.

It's an illusion.

Brazil is a sham. Huge percentages of [European] immigrants are fleeing that country, a country hostile to anything foreign. . . . Notwithstanding the amount of money Brazil spends on propaganda in faraway European cities, it's unlikely that Europeans will settle in a nation that has a black man for its coat of arms.<sup>1</sup>

The article went on to express additional observations regarding the rampancy of sexual infidelity in Brazil; the ubiquity of inbreeding that had created a paucity of surnames in Brazilian society; and the high proportion of military officers produced by a national society seen as both primitive and hierarchical. Accompanying the full-page article was an enormous cartoon by popular cartoonist Diógenes Taborda: a horde of

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<sup>1</sup>"Monos en Buenos Aires. Un saludo a los 'ilustres huéspedes'," *Crítica*, October 3, 1920, p.8.

monkeys fresh off the train in Buenos Aires, some in top hats and petticoats, others dressed in the uniform of the Brazilian national soccer team.<sup>2</sup> The Brazilian team and delegates had just arrived in Buenos Aires by way of Santiago, Chile, where the Brazilian players had participated in the 1920 South American Championship along with the Uruguayan, Chilean, and Argentine teams. In Buenos Aires they were expected to stay a few days and play an exhibition match with the Argentine national team before catching a steamship back to Río de Janeiro. Thus was extended their welcome to the Argentine capital.

Pueyrredón would have sighed. *Crítica* had since the paper's inception made a specialty of blurring the line dividing satire from outright bellicosity. *Crítica* was a relatively new paper, founded in 1913 as Argentina's pioneer in the genre of tabloid journalism. Its irreverence toward politicians and authority figures, its folksy vernacular, and its sensationally easy-to-read format had made it a major force in the teeming Argentine press. The national and local governments, liberal democracies dedicated to a free press as they were, gritted their teeth as time and time again politicians were eviscerated with a gleeful invective inconceivable a generation earlier.

This was not the first time *Crítica* had targeted Brazilians for derision. Every minor geopolitical spat between the two South American powers was met with rancor in the Buenos Aires-based paper. More often than not antagonism was expressed by personifying the Brazilian nation or individual Brazilians as a monkey. Of late it had been the soccer-heavy sports section, headed by the popular writer Antonio Palacio Zino, that had been proliferating monkey-themed cartoons and images. *Crítica* was particularly proud of its sports-writing staff. Its sportswriters enjoyed a passionate following;

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<sup>2</sup> See Figure 3 for a reproduction.

journalists like Guillermo Zalazar Altamira (“Dinty Moore”), Máximo Sáenz (“Last Reason”) and José Gabriel would later in the twentieth century be celebrated for their contributions to the development of a uniquely Argentine lexicon.<sup>3</sup> But mixed in with the colorful accounts of horse races and soccer matches was a growing strain of chauvinism characterized by the lowbrow antagonizing of neighboring countries: Uruguay, Chile, Paraguay,<sup>4</sup> but chiefly Brazil.

For Minister Puerreydón, the danger of the matter lay not with the mere fact that a foreign nation had been insulted. After all, jingoistic caricatures were the bread and butter of the popular press and had been for generations. This monkey-trope was different, for several reasons. First, it ventured into sustained, racially-charged attacks against a neighbor—unusual for the Latin American press in the early twentieth century. It did so on the eve of the arrival of one of Brazil’s most prominent cultural delegations—the national soccer team—as honored guests to the Argentine capital. And because the article and cartoon appeared in the sports pages of a well-circulated daily, they would be purchased by tens of thousands and read by many, many more. The article and cartoon

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<sup>3</sup>Ibid, 11-12; 162. See also Mariano Oliveto, “La cuestión del idioma en los años veinte y el problema del lunfardo: a propósito de una encuesta del diario *Crítica*,” *Revista Pilquen* 12, no. 13 (2010): 2-3. In a 1941 article titled “Las alarmas del doctor Américo Castro,” Jorge Luis Borges would cite Máximo Sáenz (“Last Reason”) and other *Crítica* writers as examples of linguistic innovation, and Roberto Arlt did the same in his piece, “El idioma de los argentinos,” written in the late 1920s but published in his *Aguafuertes porteñas* collection in 1933. See Gabriela García Cedro, “Aguatintas hípicas,” introduction to *A rienda suelta*, by Last Reason (Buenos Aires: Colihue: Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina, 2006), 11-24; and Roberto Arlt, *Aguafuertes porteñas: impresiones* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Victoria, 1933).

<sup>4</sup>During May and June of 1919, the Asociación Argentina de Football sent its first-ever delegation to Asunción, during the same period as the 1919 Campeonato Sudamericano. Though the tour received insignificant coverage, *Crítica* engaged the Paraguayan nation, as an object of ridicule, much the same way as it did Brazil. Referring to the Paraguayan capital as “the village known in geographical studies with the appellative ‘Asunción’,” a short series of articles mocked Paraguayan culture and referred to its residents as “the more than 20,000 pseudo-caudillos who aspire to the presidency of that indigenous nation.” See “Bandidos footballísticos en el Paraguay!” *Crítica*, July 12, 1919, PP. Much as with the Brazil case, the ridicule levied at Paraguay were meant to titillate readers and scandalize Paraguayans, and used racial insult as part of that performance.



were also likely to be reprinted and/or referenced by newspapers across the continent, a journalistic practice common to the day. For these reasons, Honório Pueyrredón knew he was likely to hear from his Brazilian counterpart with immediacy. To avoid an international incident, he would almost certainly be forced to order the arrest of Palacio Zino and Taborda. Under probable direction from President Yrigoyen, Pueyrredón would indeed end his work week dictating a memo to the Minister of Justice to that precise end.

Such a strident reaction to a tabloid article may seem exaggerated to today's sensibilities, but Antonio Palacio Zino and *Crítica's* owner and editor-in-chief, Natalio Botana, had taken it upon themselves to bestir Brazilian sentiment regarding a matter most sensitive in any early twentieth-century society: racial identity. This "*macaquitos*" incident, as it would come to be known, harnessed deep-rooted racial notions toward blackness and Brazilian blackness in particular. The incident was widely reported in both the Brazilian and Argentine presses, the former outraged and the latter almost uniformly embarrassed. And it was never forgotten. In Brazil the incident catalyzed a myth about 1920s racial politics that has endured in the present day. It inspired writers as diverse as Lima Barreto,<sup>5</sup> Mário Filho,<sup>6</sup> and Eduardo Galeano<sup>7</sup> to create and perpetuate a narrative

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<sup>5</sup>Afonso Henriques de Lima Barreto ("Lima Barreto," 1881-1922) was a prominent Brazilian journalist and satirist.

<sup>6</sup>Mário Rodrigues Filho (known as "Mário Filho," 1908-1966), another journalist and writer, is considered the father of Brazilian sports journalism. His seminal work, *O negro no futebol brasileiro* (Rio de Janeiro: MAUAD, 2004), observed in the playing styles of the Afro-Brazilian soccer player an archetype of national Brazilian character. Originally published in 1947 with an introduction by Gilberto Freyre, Filho's book is hailed in Brazil as the most influential book about soccer ever published in that country. For more about the influence of Mario Filho over the history of Brazilian soccer, see Denaldo Alchorne de Souza, "Mário Filho & o negro no futebol brasileiro," in *O Brasil entra em campo!: construções e reconstruções da identidade nacional (1930-1947)* (São Paulo: Annablume, 2008), 171-194; Marcelino da Silva, *Mil e uma noites de futebol: o Brasil moderno de Mário Filho* (Belo Horizonte, Brazil: Editora UFMG, 2006); and Fatima Martin Rodrigues Ferreira Antunes, "Mário Filho: levantando o véu da alma brasileira," in "*Com brasileiro, não há quem possa!*": futebol e identidade nacional em José Lins do Rego, Mário Filho e

of anti-Brazilian racial discrimination that is still widely accepted. In 1920s Argentina, the incident re-charged and re-popularized the *macaquito* depiction of Brazilians. Such blatantly racist iconography would disappear in subsequent decades, aided, no doubt, by a broader intellectual transformation regarding scientific racism in the post-WWII transatlantic world. However, even though depictions of Brazilians as monkeys faded from the mainstream Argentine press in the 1930s and 1940s, the notion of the *macaquito* remained well-engrained in Argentine culture as a result of the 1920s incident, particularly in the realm of soccer discourse.

This chapter uses *Crítica's* *macaquito* campaign to explore a larger pattern in which Argentines constructed whiteness, racial difference, and racial exceptionalism in a Latin American context. The chapter chronicles how certain Argentine thinkers and soccer officials endeavored to formulate national racial identity via contra-distinction to Brazil. During the late 1910s and 1920s members of the Argentine popular press disseminated negative racial portrayals of Brazil as a means of affirming a Euro-descended Argentine racial heritage. These writings—which fit within a larger body of racial thinking in Argentina, Brazil, and the larger transatlantic world—saw Brazil's sizable Afro-descended population as an obstacle for progress and modernization. By the

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*Nelson Rodrigues* (São Paulo: Editora UNESP, 2004), 123-206. Some additional evidence of Mário Filho's prominence and prestige in Brazilian sports history lies in the fact that the most famous soccer stadium in Brazil carries his name. Though popularly known as the "Maracanã," the official name of the stadium—one of the best known in the world—is "Estádio Jornalista Mário Filho." The final match of the 2014 World Cup is scheduled to be played in the Maracanã, and the opening and closing ceremonies of the 2016 Summer Olympic Games will also take place there.

<sup>7</sup> The Uruguayan writer Eduardo Hughes Galeano (1940- ) became one of the best-known Latin American writers of the late twentieth-century with his book-length essay *Open Veins of Latin America*. An avid soccer fan, Galeano published a florid and idiosyncratic history of soccer called *El fútbol a sol y sombra* in 1995. This widely read work—translated into English as *Soccer in Sun and Shadow*—was further published in French, German, Hebrew, Chinese, Japanese, Portuguese, and Turkish.

same token, Argentina's Euro-descended population could be seen as an explanation for its material wealth and its racial exceptionalism in a Latin American context.



Figure 5: “Monkeys in Buenos Aires.” *Crítica*, October 3, 1920, p. 8. Text by Antonio Palacio Zino and caricature by Diógenes Taborda.

### Performing International Relations through Soccer

As with other sports, during the early twentieth century international soccer competitions became a ideal occasions for the performance of international diplomacy. In the Atlantic world sports became permeated with a diplomatic discourse developed in the late 1800s by pedagogues like Pierre de Coubertin of France. Among other things, Coubertin helped promote a vision of sports as a gentleman's game practiced by

aristocrats- and diplomats-in-formation.<sup>8</sup> This elitist, diplomatic sports ethos spread from Europe to the Americas as part of the development of a broader transatlantic sports culture. European immigration, new communication technologies, and the wide availability of foreign newspapers provided Argentina and other Latin American countries a profound connection these European intellectual currents. As institutionalized British sport spread throughout early twentieth-century South America, Argentine sports officials and the press internalized Coubertin's view that international sports competitions were a key component of maintaining productive international relations with other nations.

Fully steeped in the appropriate internationalist rhetoric, Argentine soccer officials and reporters were likely to hail any of the hundreds of soccer matches between teams from different countries as a diplomatic exercise in which the "principal finality" was "greater acquaintance between our soccer-playing friends and neighbors."<sup>9</sup> In fact, foreign teams' visits to Buenos Aires, as well as Argentine teams' visits to Europe or other Latin American countries, did resemble diplomatic activities. Players touring Argentina from abroad—Brazilians, Basques, and Genoese alike—were all likely to explain the importance of international soccer matches in the same carefully crafted terms: "[We've] come to Buenos Aires not to win matches...but rather to get to know each other better, to deepen our relations, to find out more about one another, to get a

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<sup>8</sup>John MacAloon, *Pierre de Coubertin and the Origins of the Modern Olympic Games* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981). See also Julio Frydenberg, *Historia social del fútbol del amateurismo a la profesionalización* (Buenos Aires: Siglo Veintiuno Editores, 2011), 32-39, 83-87.

<sup>9</sup>Asociación Argentina de Football, "Relaciones internacionales," *Memorias y Balance* (1919): 14.

close-up look at each other.”<sup>10</sup> Or, as Brazilian soccer official and diplomat Lafayette de Carvalho e Silva put it on the eve of the 1920 Campeonato Sudamericano de Football, “Countries that gather together [through sport] come to better know one another.”<sup>11</sup> All the principal actors in the soccer universe—league officials, politicians, businesspeople, reporters, and the players themselves—were inculcated to see international tournaments like the Campeonato Sudamericano de Football as a “unique manifestation of solidarity and [Latin] American camaraderie.”<sup>12</sup>

Accordingly, from 1900 to the mid-1930s, soccer matches themselves became a prominent ceremonial component in cultivating and manifesting friendly relationships with other polities. Latin America’s oldest and most prestigious sports competitions have their roots in the exercise of international diplomacy. The Campeonato Sudamericano<sup>13</sup> de Football—the world’s oldest<sup>14</sup> continental soccer competition—was founded in 1916<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>10</sup>“Los footballers vascos en Buenos Aires,” *El Gráfico*, July 22, 1922, p. 8. See also similar statements in *La Nación*, September 30, 1921, p. 6 (unnamed Brazilian player: “We want South American soccer to be one of the many ties that keep our brother countries closely connected.”); “Torneos de confraternidad sudamericana,” *Crítica*, December 2, 1925, p. 12 (Brazilian soccer delegate Renato Pacheco: “These tournaments contribute considerably more than is generally believed to the improvement of fraternization and friendship between South American peoples”); and “Nota de la Federación Española de Football a la Asociación Argentina de Football de la que ha sido portador el presidente de la Federación Guipuzcoana,” *Crítica*, July 15, 1922, p. 11.

<sup>11</sup>“Llegada de las delegaciones,” *La Nación*, October 1, 1920, p. 7.

<sup>12</sup>Asociación Argentina de Football, “Próximo Campeonato Sudamericano,” *Memorias y Balance* (1920), pp. 7-8.

<sup>13</sup>Spanish for “South American Championship. In the 1970s the name was formally changed from Campeonato Sudamericano to Copa América.

<sup>14</sup>Today known as the Copa América, the Campeonato Sudamericano de Football was organized by the Confederación Sudamericana de Football (today known as CONMEBOL) and held 13 times between 1916 and 1935. CONMEBOL is the oldest continental soccer confederation in the world, predating the respective confederations of Europe (1954), Asia (1954), and Africa (1957) by some 40 years. For their part, the North America and Oceania confederations were founded in the 1960s.

<sup>15</sup>The Confederación Sudamericana de Football was formed precisely to organize the 1916 tournament. Thereafter the organization became a continental governing body dedicated to arranging, sponsoring, and regulating international competitions between South American opponents. Inaugural members were

as a way for the region to commemorate Argentina's centennial celebrations that year. Brazil, Uruguay, and Chile all sent teams, accompanied by their diplomatic corps and amidst great fanfare, to take part in the celebrations. Other soccer competitions—such as the Copa Roca<sup>16</sup> or the Copa Chevalier Boutell<sup>17</sup>—involved only two nations, and were intended as reaffirmations of propitious bilateral relations. Even during non-competitive exhibition matches—extremely commonplace in the day—box seats overflowed with foreign and local presidents, governors, ambassadors, mayors, army officials, and city council members. In this context of performed foreign relations, it was not unexpected that the first item of business for Genoa Cricket and Football after arriving in Buenos Aires in 1923 was a pilgrimage to the tomb of Argentine founding father Manuel Belgrano and, accompanied by the Italian ambassador, capped by a wreath of flowers reverently laid at its foot.<sup>18</sup> Nor was it particularly surprising when, during a 1912 match between Argentines and Brazilians held to commemorate Brazilian independence, the

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Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Uruguay. Paraguay (1921), Peru (1925), Bolivia (1926), and Ecuador (1927) would also join the confederation throughout the 1920s. The Campeonato Sudamericano was the Confederation's marquee competition.

<sup>16</sup>First played in 1914, the Copa Roca was established by Argentine statesman Julio A. Roca as a way of promoting peaceful relations between Argentina and Brazil. The Cup was contested eleven times between 1914 and 1976. The competition was resurrected in 2011 and renamed “Copa Nicolás Leoz” after the South American soccer federation head.

<sup>17</sup>The Copa Chevalier Boutell (official named Copa Rosa Chevalier Boutell) pitted the Argentine and Paraguayan national teams and was played intermittently between 1923 and 1971. In similar fashion to the Copa Roca, the Copa Chevalier Boutell was intended to promote the development of soccer in Argentina and Paraguay, as well as the maintenance of friendly international relations between both countries. The silver cup itself, the prize for the winner, was donated by Anglo-Argentine aristocrat and soccer aficionado Francis Hepburn Chevallier-Boutell (1851-1937) and named in homage to his wife, Rosa Granero.

<sup>18</sup>*Crítica*, August 16, 1923, p. 6. The fact that Manuel Belgrano's father was Ligurian-born no doubt made this specific symbolic exercise a logical choice for the Genoans.

legendary Argentine general and statesman Julio A. Roca<sup>19</sup> ordered the Argentine team to deliberately lose the match.<sup>20</sup> In the exteriorization of diplomacy, the soccer field rivaled the embassy.

Occasionally, the pomp prepared for foreign soccer players seemed to exceed that reserved for the most distinguished visitors. Andrés B. Gallo, an Estudiantes de la Plata player who had traveled to Paraguay as part of the first-ever Argentine soccer expedition to that country, recalled that in Asunción “they treated us like princes and we received more homages than the Prince of Wales.”<sup>21</sup> International soccer competitions seemed to so easily engender manifestations of international amity that on more than one occasion, Argentine writers hailed soccer’s ability to “accomplish more than our diplomats do for the fellowshipping of different countries.”<sup>22</sup>

However, if indeed soccer tours and competitions mirrored international relations, soccer could just as easily become a flashpoint for international discord. Sports

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<sup>19</sup>See n. 15 above. Julio Argentino Roca (1843-1914) served as Argentine president from 1880 to 1886 and then again from 1898 to 1904. When he established the Copa Julio Roca, he was serving the Argentine state as “Special Ambassador to Brazil.”

<sup>20</sup>As related to Editorial Eiffel staff by Maximiliano Susan, a prominent Estudiantes de Buenos Aires and Argentine national team player during the 1910s. See “Pedido diplomático del General Julio A. Roca que no pudo cumplirse” in *Historia de Boca Juniors*, ed. Héctor Chaponick (Buenos Aires: Editorial Eiffel, 1956), 1: 89. According to Susan, Roca personally made this request of the team at halftime, dismayed that the Argentines were leading 3-0 in a match meant to celebrate Brazilian independence. The Argentine players promised Roca to throw the game, but, as Susan recalled, “in the heat of the battle, we soon forgot about the promise” (ibid). The Argentines ended up winning the game 5-0. The final score provided by Susan may not refer to the match played on Brazilian Independence Day (September 8, 1912), when the Argentines defeated the “São Paulo State Team” 6-3 in São Paulo. On September 16, 1912, however, the Argentines defeated the “Guanabara State Team” 5-0 in Rio de Janeiro, matching Susan’s remembered score line.

<sup>21</sup>“En el Paraguay nos rendieron más homenaje que al Príncipe de Gales,” *Crítica*, September 5, 1925, p. 10. The Prince of Wales was touring South America at the time of this report, thus prompting Gallo’s comparison.

<sup>22</sup>“Frente a frente, otra vez, ¡¡¡Argentinos, Uruguayos!!!” *La Argentina*, June 13, 1928, p. 12. See also “El pueblo los bendijo con su adiós y se satisface con el triunfo moral con que regresan,” *La Calle*, July 16, 1925, p. 10.

competitions are well known to encourage chauvinistic tendencies in players, press, and fans.<sup>23</sup> During the early twentieth century in particular, sports competitions and nationalistic pride were deeply intertwined. When teams from different countries competed against each other, commentators observed nationally shared characteristics in the performance of the players on the field—part of what Eduardo Archetti calls “the role of collective sports in the consolidation of [different] nationalisms.”<sup>24</sup> Archetti writes:

During the time of nations, of Olympic Games and national championships, the connection between [sports and] national identities was more than predictable. Argentina . . . exported bodies, faces, and sports events, and through them an image of the *national* became constructed at the same moment.<sup>25</sup>

For players, fans, and observers the connection between the *national* and the performance on the field seemed obvious. And with national destiny ostensibly on the line, it is of little surprise that soccer competitions and soccer matches sometimes transgressed the diplomatic pageantry intended to undergird those sports events. For instance, the championship game of the inaugural Campeonato Sudamericano, itself intended to be a celebration of Argentina’s centennial, became for players less a celebration of bilateral relations than a symbolic struggle for regional superiority. Juan Van Kamenade, who played on the Argentine national team throughout the 1910s, recalled his bloodied legs in the aftermath of that contentious match, consequence of how “the futures of both nations seemed at stake.”<sup>26</sup> In 1919 a different Argentine player

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<sup>23</sup>Richard Giulianotti and Gary Armstrong, “Constructing Social Identities: Exploring the Structured Relations of Football Rivalries,” in *Fear and Loathing in World Football*, ed. Gary Armstrong and Richard Giulianotti, 267-279 (Oxford: Berg, 2001).

<sup>24</sup>Eduardo Archetti, “El deporte en la Argentina (1914-1983),” *Trabajo y sociedad* 6, no. 7 (2005): 3.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid, 27.

<sup>26</sup>*El Gráfico*, September 6, 1924, p. 26.



criticized his Brazilian opponents for playing “as if the entire future of Brazil depended on their performance.”<sup>27</sup> The same article—appearing, ironically, in *Crítica*, the most flagrant offender in matters of chauvinist nationalism, as shall be seen—went on to complain that “far from consolidating friendships between brother countries, soccer destroys them even more.”<sup>28</sup>

As the 1920s progressed, this observation appeared well-founded. After witnessing a particularly testy series of games during the 1922 Campeonato Sudamericano held in Brazil, one writer in *El Gráfico* wondered “if it [would not be] prudent to stop holding these tournaments altogether,” since instead of “strengthening the ties between participants, they actually place [players] in the inconceivable situation of hating each other to the point of physical violence.”<sup>29</sup> The magazine accompanied its cautionary article with photographs of altercations in the grandstand between opposing fans, as well as a shot of the field littered with debris thrown in anger from the box seats.

Such episodes of spectator violence became a major source of hand-wringing in the Argentine press during the 1910s and 1920s. Police in the Río de la Plata were obliged to pioneer methods of crowd control to keep hot-headed fans from storming the pitch and assaulting players or referees. Incidents of crowd indiscipline were commonplace throughout the 1910s, but were limited mostly to club matches in city leagues. When such incidents began appearing with greater frequency in international matches—where, as described earlier, officials labored to suffuse the spectacle with a

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<sup>27</sup>“La ‘confraternidad’ sudamericana. Su ‘consolidación’ por el football,” *Crítica*, August 3, 1919, p. 2.

<sup>28</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>29</sup>*El Gráfico*, October 28, 1922, p. 14.

sense of diplomatic amity—it became the cause for concern. One particularly illustrative series of incidents in 1924 ended in loss of life and froze bilateral relations—in the diplomatic realm of the soccer field, at least—between Argentina and Uruguay for years.

### **The Limits of Soccer Diplomacy in the Río de la Plata**

By 1924, no two national teams in the world had played one another with greater frequency than Argentina and Uruguay.<sup>30</sup> The two teams had theretofore faced off nearly 100 times<sup>31</sup> in the *clásico rioplatense* which, as will be discussed in chapter five, was considered by many—in the region, in any case—the world’s greatest exhibition of soccer talent. In 1924 Uruguay had the far more convincing claim to be the world’s greatest soccer power. Since the inception of the Campeonato Sudamericano in 1916, Uruguay had won five continental championships, compared to Brazil’s two and Argentina’s one.<sup>32</sup> In 1924 Uruguay also entered the men’s soccer competition as part of the Olympic Games held in Paris, the first ever Latin American team to do so. The Uruguayans gained transatlantic celebrity by walloping, among other teams, hosts France, the Netherlands, and Switzerland, eventually claiming the gold medal.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>30</sup>This is still the case today.

<sup>31</sup>Rec.Sport.Soccer Statistics Federation, “ARGENTINA-URUGUAY Matches 1902-2009,” <http://www.rsssf.com/tables/a/argurures.html>. Before the September 21, 1924, game between the Olympic champions and Argentina, the series stood at 36 wins apiece and 24 draws.

<sup>32</sup>Uruguay won the 1916 Campeonato Sudamericano (held in Buenos Aires) and went on to win the 1917 (held in Montevideo), 1920 (Chile), 1923 (Montevideo), and 1924 (Montevideo) editions of the tournament. Brazil won the 1919 and 1922 editions, both held in Rio de Janeiro. Argentina had hosted and won the 1921 championship. By the end of the amateur period in 1931, Uruguay had six championships, Argentina four, and Brazil two.

<sup>33</sup>Even more impressive, perhaps, than its gold medal, was the Uruguayans’ pre-Olympic tour of Spain in April and May of 1924. Virtual unknowns touring a country with one of Europe’s strongest soccer traditions, the Uruguayans won all nine games, outscoring their major-league Spanish opponents a

Immediately thereafter the Argentine national team, eager to prove itself the equal of its neighbors, challenged the Uruguayan champions to a series of games to be played in Montevideo and Buenos Aires. To the surprise of many, the Uruguayans accepted. The resulting games would become some of the most celebrated events ever to take place in the history of Argentine sport—as well as some of the most fractious.

The first match, held in Montevideo on September 21, ended a hard-fought draw. The second and final leg was to be played on September 28 in Buenos Aires, in the aristocratic stadium of Sportivo Barracas in southern Buenos Aires. Argentine league and city officials woefully under-calculated the public demand for tickets, and an estimated 20,000 frustrated fans were left at the gates without admission to a stadium already at its 40,000-seat capacity. The game was barely underway when some thousands of these excluded fans invaded the grounds from all sides, shoving to occupy the sidelines and touchlines. As the mass of interlopers began spilling onto the field, the mounted Buenos Aires police force charged into the crowd. The scene degenerated into a pitched battle between angry spectators and truculent police officers. Stones rained onto the field, several attempts to burn the wooden grandstand were aborted just in time, and the shaken Uruguayan players abandoned the stadium, vowing never to return.<sup>34</sup> In the

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combined 25 to 8. See Appendix B, no. 4, “Uruguayan Teams vs. Foreign Opponents, 1911-1931,” for details.

<sup>34</sup>This incident echoed a similar one that had occurred eight years earlier during the inaugural Campeonato Sudamericano of 1916. Anxious for a victory against Uruguay in the final match of the tournament, some 40,000 spectators attempted to gain access to a stadium with a capacity for 20,000. Those excluded from the event rioted during the first few minutes of the game, invading the field and setting fire to one of the grandstands. See “Los disturbios de ayer en el field del Club de Gimnasia y Esgrima,” *La Nación*, July 17, 1916, pp. 8-9; and “El lamentable espectáculo de ayer,” *La Prensa*, July 17, 1916, p. 9. In this case, the Uruguayan opponents agreed to an immediate rematch the following day. The subsequent draw between the two teams earned Uruguay the championship trophy.

end the Argentines successfully entreated them to replay the match on October 2 in the same stadium, this time reinforced with barbed wire and an army of police officers. The game did little to dispel the growing animosity between the teams. Argentina won<sup>35</sup> 2-1 with goals from Cesáreo Onzari and Domingo Tarasconi, but the game was marred by multiple scuffles between players. One particularly violent sequence of gameplay ended with Uruguayan Pedro Cea planting his foot square through the femur of Argentine Adolfo Celli. Argentines celebrated the victory as the most important in the history of Argentine sport, but the Cea incident—“more than a human being Cea seems a cannibal with animal instincts,” fumed *Crítica*<sup>36</sup>—amplified the growing resentment between Argentines and Uruguayans that culminated in tragedy the following month.

In November 1924 the Campeonato Sudamericano de Football was held in Montevideo, scarcely a month after the Argentina-Uruguay series. The Argentines had a mediocre tournament by their standards, defeating Chile but drawing against Paraguay and eventual champions Uruguay. The draw against Uruguay in the tournament’s final game—as good as a loss for Argentine interests—brought the sentiment of rivalry boiling over for some Argentine players. The car ride from the stadium back to the hotel gave rise to various expressions of petulance from some defeated Argentine players, hot-blooded from the loss. According to accounts in *El Gráfico* and *La Nación*, Segundo Medici hung out the window draped in an Argentine flag, proffering insults at passers-by,

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<sup>35</sup>This game became a landmark event in the lore of Argentine soccer. The Argentines had beaten the world champions, their biggest rivals, and mere months after the Uruguayan triumph in Europe. The game would also be forever remembered for a splendid goal scored by Cesáreo Onzari, curved into the far corner of the net directly from a corner-kick position. The goal, the first of its kind, became known in the Spanish language as an “Olympic goal” in remembrance of the defeated Olympic champions.

<sup>36</sup>“‘Olímpicos: ja, ja, ja!...Argentinos: hip, hip, hurrah!...’ coreaba el pueblo al finalizar el gran encuentro,” *Crítica*, October 2, 1924, p. 4.

and skirmishing with some *montevideanos* at a stop light.<sup>37</sup> Once back at the hotel, the Argentines stood on their balcony shouting slogans at a gathering crowd on the street below. A street fight developed between the Argentine players, several Argentine expatriates, and local passers-by. A revolver was emptied into the crowd. One Uruguayan was wounded and another, a Montevidean named Pedro Demby, was shot dead with two bullets through his throat. The Argentine players denied culpability but investigations by police in both countries identified one José Lázaro Rodríguez as the murderer.<sup>38</sup> An Argentine from the porteño neighborhood of La Boca, Rodríguez was a heavy for the Argentine national team, brought for “security” on trips abroad at the behest, reportedly, of the Boca Juniors contingency of the national team and of Américo Tesorieri<sup>39</sup> in particular.<sup>40</sup> Rodríguez was briefly jailed in Buenos Aires some time later,

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<sup>37</sup>Aníbal Vigil, “Los últimos sucesos internacionales,” *El Gráfico*, November 8, 1924, p. 4; *La Nación*, November 4, 1924, PP.

<sup>38</sup>Other writers, such as Dante Panzeri, Amilcar Romero, and Roberto Di Giano, seem to have mistakenly identified the author of the crime as one José Stella. It is likely that Romero and Di Giano took their information from Panzeri’s 1974 account of the incident, which matches the account offered here in all instances except for the name of the accused murderer. See Dante Panzeri, *Burguesía y gansterismo en el deporte* (Buenos Aires: Libera, 1974), 59; Amilcar Romero, *Fútbol SA* (Buenos Aires: Editorial La abeja Africana, 2005), 105; and Roberto Di Giano, *Fútbol y discriminación social* (Buenos Aires: Leviatán, 2007), 27-28.

<sup>39</sup>Uruguayan police sources also cited Lázaro Rodríguez as a good friend to Argentine national team players Cesáreo Onzari and Florindo Bearzotti. See Alejandro Pérez, “Persiguiendo al petiso de La Boca,” *El País* [Montevideo] *Qué Pasa* supplement, April 1, 2006. [http://www.elpais.com.uy/Suple/QuePasa/06/04/01/quepasa\\_209339.asp](http://www.elpais.com.uy/Suple/QuePasa/06/04/01/quepasa_209339.asp)

<sup>40</sup>One online observer has posited Lázaro Rodríguez as the first “barra brava” involved in a crime. See <http://pelotaafuera.blogspot.com/2009/11/85-anos-de-la-muerte-de-pedro-demby.html>. Barra bravas are diehard supporters of a given soccer club, organizing typically with the blessing and material support of club officials. Barra bravas are principally responsible for the endemic violence surrounding the Argentine soccer scene, a trend that has grown worse in recent years. As regards the national team, barra bravas have always been and are still a prominent element on the Argentine national team scene. During the 2010 World Cup, the Asociación del Fútbol Argentino (AFA) in conjunction with some Argentine politicians sponsored a coalition of barra bravas from different clubs called Hinchas Unidas (United Fans). Subsidized by those entities, the barra bravas traveled with the national team to South Africa and cheered on the team passionately throughout its participation in the tournament. In 2009 and 2010 this writer personally witnessed masses of barra bravas gain free and unopposed entry into national team matches in Buenos

but never extradited to Uruguay, and never to face charges for the crime. Only later was it discovered that immediately following the crime he had been smuggled out of Montevideo with the help of some of the national team players.

The incident scandalized Argentines and Uruguayans alike. The Asociación Uruguaya de Football boycotted soccer competitions against Argentina for two years—an unprecedented break in the sporting relations of two countries accustomed to playing multiple matches annually—and the Uruguayans further refused to play in Buenos Aires until mid-1927. While the two teams competed amicably throughout 1927—including Argentina’s victory in the Campeonato Sudamericano played at the end of that year—international tensions were re-stoked in 1928 and 1930 with the conjoined rise of Argentina and Uruguay to the top of the transatlantic soccer world. As shall be discussed in chapter four, the two teams faced off in the gold medal match of the 1928 Olympic Games, held in Amsterdam, and in the final of inaugural 1930 World Cup staged in Montevideo. Uruguay was victorious in both global competitions, though the contests left reporters, fans, and players from both countries so embittered that the teams did not play again in formal competition until 1935.<sup>41</sup>

The founders and promoters of the Campeonato Sudamericano founders may have envisioned “its principal finality [to be] a greater acquaintanceship between soccer-

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Aires, with the presumed goal of offering vigorous, visual support to the team, the coach, and AFA officials during important matches.

<sup>41</sup>Roberto Di Giano, “La primera Copa del Mundo: hostilidad y violencia” in *Fútbol, poder y discriminación social* (Buenos Aires: Leviatán, 2009), 27-36. The long-lasting sociological effects of the Argentine-Uruguayan rivalry were analyzed at a panel at the University of Buenos Aires. See Andrés Morales, Roberto Di Giano, and Tulio Guterman, “Fútbol, identidad rioplatense y Copa América,” *EFDeportes.com Revista Digital* 16, no. 160 (Sep. 2011), <http://www.efdeportes.com/efd160/futbol-identidad-rioplatense-y-la-copa-america.htm>

playing friends and neighbors.”<sup>42</sup> However, the potent combination of sports competition with nationalism frequently conspired against those aims. A particularly wide-reaching episode of transnational hostility linked to the soccer world of early twentieth-century Argentina, and the one with the most far-reaching consequences, involved not Uruguay, but Brazil. In the Argentine popular sports press Brazilians were depicted as rivals, just as with Uruguayans, but, as explained in the introduction to this chapter, one newspaper added a forceful racialized discourse that was nonexistent in the Uruguayan case. Whereas Uruguayan players were generally grouped together with Argentines to affirm the notion of a white, Euro-descended “Rioplatine race,” or *raza rioplatense*, Brazilian soccer players were made to represent the opposite end of the racial spectrum.

### **The *Crítica* Campaign Strikes a Nerve**

It is not clear what moved *Crítica*’s head sports writer, one of Argentina’s most popular journalists, to provoke the wrath of his country’s most powerful political officials. What *is* made clear from a chronological examination of *Crítica* is that his anti-Brazil crusade seems to have begun immediately following the 1919 Campeonato Sudamericano, held in Rio de Janeiro in May and June of that year. From an Argentine standpoint little is known regarding the Argentine team’s off-field experiences in the Brazilian capital; press coverage was cut off for the duration of the tournament due to a countrywide newspaper strike.<sup>43</sup> *Crítica* had dispatched Palacio Zino to Rio de Janeiro as

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<sup>42</sup>Asociación Argentina de Football, “Relaciones internacionales,” *Memorias y Balance* (1919), pp. 14-15

<sup>43</sup>The newspaper strike was part of the fallout of a series of workers’ protests in 1919, the worst the country had ever seen. See María Silvia Badoza and María Inés Tato, “Cuando Buenos Aires se quedó sin diarios: Los conflictos de 1919 en la prensa gráfica argentina,” *Sociohistórica* [Argentina] 19-20 (2006): 113-138. See also Ricardo Falcón and Alejandra Monserrat, “Estado, empresas, trabajadores y sindicatos” in

its special correspondent for the tournament, however, and when the Argentine press resumed production on July 1, the sports writer instigated an anti-Brazil campaign that would last some 15 months.

In the aftermath of the 1920 *macaquitos* affair a confused explanation for his actions was eventually forced from Antonio Palacio Zino. His original grievance against Brazil, Palacio Zino would reveal, was not its blackness but rather its lack of hospitality for Argentine players and journalists—poor food, humble accommodations, and the like—throughout the tournament. Mention of such banalities, however, was largely absent from even in his first dispatches, which focused more on scandalizing readers with depictions of Brazilian society than with complaints of cramped hotels and cold buffets. “Everyone knows Brazil is a country of savages,” he began on July 1. “It’s an open secret that Rio de Janeiro is so black that they have to turn on the lights at 4pm;<sup>44</sup> every prostitute knows that the even most disgusting women from [Argentine] bordellos can go to [Rio de Janeiro] and in a flash be dripping with jewels; there’s no question that Brazilian aristocrats attend parties with their wife on one arm and their mistress on the other...”<sup>45</sup>

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*Democracia, conflicto social y renovación de ideas (1916-1930)*, vol. 9 of *Nueva Historia Argentina*, ed. Ricardo Falcón (Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudamericana, 2000), 156-170.

<sup>44</sup>As the reader may have noticed, this particular witticism was recycled more than once throughout the 15-month campaign.

<sup>45</sup>“Ecos del Sud Americano. Palos de los brasileños,” *Crítica*, July 1, 1919, p. 6.





Figure 6. "The Dread Scratch." *Míster Bull*, October 9, 1920, cover page.  
Caricature by Diógenes Taborda.

So it began. Palacio Zino's manifest goal was to entertain Argentine readers while causing as much outrage as possible to Brazilian readers, who were likely to pick

up his comments when they were reprinted in the Brazilian press. But racial insult lay at the heart of his commentary, which, in turn, struck at the heart of Brazilian insecurity about its social makeup, as will be discussed shortly. “I went to that country to the north thinking to find an epicenter of South American civilization,” he wrote, “but with rare exception all I found was people of color.”<sup>46</sup> *Macaco* and *monito* were favored epithets.<sup>47</sup> Other articles threw in mention of orangutans, bananas, and sweltering jungles.<sup>48</sup> Palacio Zino also invoked long-standing tenets of Brazilian racial thought as a tactic: “Brazil is a country of blacks, and people of color star in every manifestation of local life... That country gives the impression of going extinct, of a dying race...Disease is the order of the day. The statistics are terrifying. Yellow fever, Spanish flu, mumps, and even bubonic plague are national institutions in Brazil.”<sup>49</sup> This portrait of a eugenically degenerate Brazilian nation, victim of its non-white population, had for decades been a staple of Brazilian intellectual thought.<sup>50</sup> Palacio Zino redeployed it in a popular format, attempting not to provide a hopeful solution to Brazil’s “black question,” as Brazilian

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<sup>46</sup>“Lo que yo he visto en Chile. Ecos del Campeonato Sudamericano,” *Crítica*, October 2, 1920, p. 8.

<sup>47</sup>In *Crítica* from July 1919 to October 1920, Palacio Zino used seven different racial slurs and/or signifiers a combined 32 times in reference to Brazil or Brazilians: *macacos* (12 instances), *monitos* (6), *monos* (6), *negros* (4), *macaquitos* (2), *bananeros* (2), and *oraguntanes* (1). Curiously, *macaquito*, a mixture of Portuguese and Spanish meaning “little monkey,” became the most remembered term from the affair, both by Argentines who continued to use the term, and by Brazilians who continue to recall the Argentine effrontery.

<sup>48</sup>“Revolución brasileña,” *Crítica*, July 8, 1919, PP; “El Lenine brasileño,” *Crítica*, August 30, 1919, PP; “Las olimpiadas de Amberes. Os macacos otein o tercer puesto,” *Crítica*, August 5, 1920, p.8.

<sup>49</sup>“Las bellezas del país del norte,” *Crítica*, October 3, 1919, p. 8.

<sup>50</sup>Jerry Dávila, *Race and Social Policy in Brazil, 1917-1945* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003), 3. See also Dain Borges, “‘Puffy, Ugly, Slothful, and Inert’: Degeneration in Brazilian Social Thought, 1880-1940” *Journal of Latin American Studies* 25, no. 2 (May 1993): 235-36; and Lilia Moritz Schwarcz, *O espetáculo das raças: Cientistas, instituições e a questão racial no Brasil, 1870-1930* (Sao Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1993).

intellectuals had, but to heap scorn on the “rotting corpse”<sup>51</sup> of a rival nation destined to failure.

Exempted, from the beginning, from Palazzo Zino’s characterizations of Brazil was the city of São Paulo. The perceived contrast between São Paulo and the rest of the Brazil also served to solidify the white-supremacy ideology in play. “When Brazil must be praised,” he intoned, “one must speak exclusively of its natural beauties and of São Paulo. Such commercial activity! Such spirit of progress! What a center of industry! What a center of life! São Paulo is a white fly on the rotting corpse a civilization.”<sup>52</sup> Fly though it was, São Paulo could rest easy for being a *white* one. European immigration to São Paulo and Brazil’s far southern states had since 1890 been substantial, enough for various commentators, Argentine and Brazilian, to highlight its demographic difference from Rio de Janeiro.<sup>53</sup> São Paulo more resembled Buenos Aires. “Three quarters of [São Paulo’s] population is Italian,” enthused Palazzo Zino. He went on:

Few people there speak Brazilian. The theater companies, the big hotels, the principal industries, the most productive factories, even the soccer

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<sup>51</sup>“Ecos del Sud Americano,” *Crítica*, July 1, 1919, p. 6.

<sup>52</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>53</sup>Barbara Weinstein analyzes the regionalization of Brazilian whiteness and the racialization of southern Brazil to great effect in “Racializing Regional Difference: São Paulo versus Brazil, 1932,” in *Race and Nation in Modern Latin America*, ed. Nancy Appelbau, et al, 237-262 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003). See also George Reid Andrews, *Blacks and Whites in São Paulo, Brazil, 1888-1988* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1991).

In terms of period literature, various articles in *La Nación*’s 1922 homage to Brazil—a remarkable source to be examined at length later in this chapter—note the connection between “the presence of the immigrant” and the industrial and economic growth of southern Brazil. See Carlos Penafiel, “La acción de las colectividades extranjeras en el Brasil,” in *Un homenaje al Brasil en la fecha de su primer centenario* (Buenos Aires: La Nación, 1922). See also Affonso Alves de Camargo, “El Estado de Paraná,” *ibid.*, in which Alves de Camargo states: “Due to the ease of its climate and the fertility of its land, the state of Paraná has a very steady immigrant stream and is preferred by colonists from cold countries...From this group of races, in which no race exercises dominion over the others, and from its fusion with the national race, a new and strong race is emerging, one that will contribute notably to the development of the State.” See also similar statements in Octavio Rocha, “El estado del Rio Grande del Sur,” *ibid.*, and Celso Bayma, “El estado de Santa Catalina,” *ibid.*

officials are white and Italian. Nine of the players on the great [1919] South American championship team were from São Paulo. It did seem unlikely, we insist, that a race like the Brazilian—one that perishes weak and sickly—could produce such a strong, disciplined, brilliant team.<sup>54</sup>

Implicit here are several related lines of racial thought. For one, Palacio Zino makes clear his distinction between the “Brazilian race” and “white and Italian” São Paulo. Although Brazilian intellectuals imagined a future Brazilian race that would absorb and benefit eugenically from European immigrants,<sup>55</sup> Palacio Zino sees the white component as isolated. He also emphasizes the link between competitions on the soccer field—considered “the best test for measuring the strength of our race”<sup>56</sup>—and ethnic makeup. In so doing he touched on a point that throughout the 1920s would be echoed by countless Argentine sportswriters to explain the perceived superiority of Argentine players: Argentine soccer players benefitted from “the best bloodlines of old Europe, fusing them together”<sup>57</sup> into a new race that featured “the blood of proud Spain, manly Italy, and libertarian France.”<sup>58</sup> While it would therefore be impossible for degenerate Brazilians to match Argentine teams of the soccer field, it was not beyond the

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<sup>54</sup>Ibid. Penafiel offers a similar distinction between the “national race” and the “group of races” in Paraná State.

<sup>55</sup>Thomas Skidmore, *Black into White: Race and Nationality in Brazilian Thought* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974), 64-77. See also George Reid Andrews, *Blacks and Whites in São Paulo, Brazil, 1888-1988* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1991), 135-136.

<sup>56</sup>“¡ARGENTINOS!” *Crítica*, September 1, 1928, PP.

<sup>57</sup>*Crítica*, June 11, 1928, p. 3.

<sup>58</sup>“El día de la raza y el deporte,” *La Argentina*, October 12, 1928, p. 13. See also chapter three for a discussion of theories of Argentine racial superiority and their links to Argentine sports discourse.

possibilities of *paulista* teams, nor the Brazilian national team if made up of Euro-descended Paulistanos.<sup>59</sup>

If none of these slights elicited formal diplomatic protest, it is likely because they lacked the exquisite timing of the October 3, 1920, piece, arranged as it was to coincide with the arrival of the Brazilian national team in Buenos Aires. The furious Brazilians almost certainly contacted their ambassador in Buenos Aires. Argentine Foreign Minister Puerreydón rushed the following memo along to the Minister of Justice and Public Instruction, dated October 6: “*Señor Minister*: A newspaper from this capital, in its October 3 edition—I’ve included a copy—contains an illustrated article written in terms so as to, in the opinion of this minister, affect the dignity and national feeling of the collective citizenry of a neighboring country and friend.”<sup>60</sup> Puerreydón went on to cite law number 49, article 7 of the Argentine penal code, calling for the justice department to prosecute the crime under the terms prescribed therein.<sup>61</sup> Minister of Justice José S. Salinas in turn ordered the local district attorney to proceed with the arrest and

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<sup>59</sup>In was common belief in the Argentine sports world that *paulista* teams represented the best Brazilian soccer had to offer, just as was the case with Río de la Plata in a South American context. As in matters of national development, racial concerns predetermined the success of soccer teams. Club Atlético Paulistano, a noted club from its namesake city, surprised no one in the Argentine press when it impressed during a 1925 tour of Europe. “Paulistano” played 10 matches across France, Switzerland, and Portugal, winning nine, losing one, and outscoring their opponents 30 to 7. The same went for the 1925 visit to Argentina of São Paulo’s own Palestra Itália soccer team. An immigrant team explicitly linked to the Italian community, the Palestra Itália players elicited no racial commentary in Argentina. The opposite was true during the 1929 tour of the Rio de Janeiro-based team América. See “El América es una murga,” [FAN LETTER] *La Cancha*, March 2, 1929, p.14; “Los brasileños inician un ataque” [CARTOON], *ibid.*, March 16, 1929; and “Es hincha de los cariocas,” *ibid.*, March 30, 1929.

<sup>60</sup>Quoted in *La Epoca*, October 8, 1920; and *Mister Bull*, October 9, 1920, p. 3.

<sup>61</sup>That law and article, today known as Article 219, sentences to one to six years of prison any Argentine who “gives cause for a declaration of war against the Nation, or exposes its inhabitants to harassment or retaliation against their persons or property, or who alters the friendly relations of the Argentine government with a foreign government.”

prosecution, adding, “It would be inconceivable for such impudence to pass unnoticed when it runs against the high esteem owed to friendly nations.”<sup>62</sup>

The Brazilian players were equally infuriated at the article’s content. Three days after its publication the Brazilians were to play an eagerly awaited exhibition match against the Argentine national team. Half of the Brazilian team, however, refused to take the field in an unprecedented action of protest. Six consenting players eventually appeared on field an hour late. Facing a paying crowd three thousand strong and irritable after the hour’s delay, the two teams agreed to supplement the missing Brazilian players with four Argentine substitutes plus one Brazilian delegate to avoid canceling the match. The crowd would have none of it, “making its protest known in energetic fashion,” as *La Nación* obliquely referred to the near-riot that ensued.<sup>63</sup> Only after both sides agreed to play seven-on-seven, all Argentines versus all Brazilians, did the spectators cease to throw rocks and puncture the game balls.

The match was considered a farce, the 3-1 Argentine victory an afterthought. Argentine sportswriters, embarrassed by the riot and the Brazilians’ principled abstention from play, did not hesitate to lay the blame with *Crítica*. Tiptoed *La Nacion*: “Reasons of some sensitivity meant yesterday’s match was played in such conditions that the contest was not even a pale reflection of what it logically should have been.”<sup>64</sup> Socialist *La Vanguardia* ventured somewhat nearer to the point: “According to our sources, the absence of the Brazilian players was due to certain manifestations made in an evening

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<sup>62</sup>Cited in *La Epoca*, October 8, 1920; and *Mister Bull*, October 9, 1920, p. 3.

<sup>63</sup>“Football. Argentinos v. Brasileños,” *La Nación*, October 7, 1920, p. 7.

<sup>64</sup>*Ibid.*



paper that injured the gentlemanly Brazilian representatives, not only with its use of petulant criticisms, but also of cartoons, to deeply wound the dignity of the visiting sportsmen.”<sup>65</sup> It was *La República*, however, who produced the most vehement excoriation of *Crítica*. In a lengthy front-page editorial, the paper’s editor echoed the foreign-relations concerns of Foreign Minister Pueyrredón; the anti-Brazil campaign, far from mere tabloid hijinks, constituted a “mean-spirited and unworthy attack against a friendly nation.”<sup>66</sup> The editorial went on, making clear that at stake was nothing less than the geopolitical harmony of South America:

This is not just a manifest violation which—notoriously and widely known—has been repeated time and time again by the newspaper in question. It is, rather, a systematic campaign . . . that can only serve to lead public opinion astray and jeopardize popular sentiment [toward Brazil] with artificial excitations, denaturalizing it with distractions that undercut the happy agreement presently existing [between nations].

The editorial concluded by invoking Europe’s recently concluded Great War, warning that if *Crítica* went unpunished, it would obstruct the “free development of peace and harmony in South America” that Argentina and Brazil had worked so hard to produce.<sup>67</sup>

Could South American international relations truly have been at such risk? The reader’s reaction may match that of Palacio Zino, who attempted to diffuse his critics with typical levity. “These are simple jokes,” he quipped. “Neither the paper nor the reporter thought for an instant that the article could affect the peace of the continent. If the ‘fourth estate’ were capable of that, it wouldn’t be the ‘fourth estate,’ it would be the

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<sup>65</sup>“El caso internacional de ayer,” *La Vanguardia*, October 7, 1920, p. 6.

<sup>66</sup>“La armonía nacional,” *La República*, October 7, 1920, PP.

<sup>67</sup>*Ibid.*

first!”<sup>68</sup> Yet so hasty were both the Brazilian and Argentine reactions to the October 3 article that it left no doubt: Palacio Zino had struck a nerve. Not a nerve that could lead to a war in the Southern Cone, of course—the Argentine government and the traditional press were as horrified by the affair as the Brazilians. What, then, was the nature of Palacio Zino’s writings that carried with it the power to “jeopardize public sentiment” or “denaturalize public opinion toward Brazil”? The remainder of this chapter will be dedicated to addressing this question.

### **Argentine Racial Exceptionalism in a Latin American Context**

As mentioned in the introduction, soccer and sports in general invite a unique opportunity for observers to define national identity vis-à-vis the Other, whomever that is determined to be. The confrontational dynamics of sports competitions, working in tandem with nationalistic sentiment, serve to undermine the altruistic goals germane to institutionalized sports. This sort of antagonistic differentiation is one of the main animating forces of nationalism. And with this in mind, generally speaking it is no surprise that racism can figure powerfully in sports discourse.

Even so, in terms of Latin American racial ideologies of the 1910s and 1920s, the level of racialized rhetoric on display throughout the *macaquitos* incident was out of the ordinary. During this period Latin America was experiencing a transitional moment regarding social equality and racial ideology. Despite the fact that scientific racism and the eugenics movement were gaining widespread acceptance in the transatlantic world, Latin American racial thought of the late 1910s and 1920s was becoming more complicated. In her book *The Hour of Eugenics: Race, Gender, and Nation in Latin*

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<sup>68</sup>“La paz internacional está en peligro,” *Mister Bull*, October 9, 1920, p. 4.



*America*, Nancy Stepan emphasizes that during this period Latin American intellectuals began to distinguish between North American “hard eugenics” and Latin American “soft eugenics.” Stepan and other scholars demonstrate how Latin American racial ideologies of this period, while adhering to notions of European white supremacy, resisted calling for formal or legal discrimination.<sup>69</sup> For the many Latin American countries dedicated to democracy for the time being, it was less easy and less politically feasible for the Latin American elite to divide society along the old white/non-white lines. People of non-white or mixed race had long been demographic majorities in most Latin American countries, too large to segregate or subjugate legally like in the United States.<sup>70</sup> As these populations had begun suing for political and social rights more vehemently than ever before, the old socio-racial hierarchies that had existed since colonial times were sundered.

Broadly speaking, Argentina shared many similarities in this sense to its Latin American neighbors. Argentines read aghast the grisly details of U.S. lynchings and Russian pogroms. Commentators universally condemned the U.S. social model of the 1920s, with its resultant legal discrimination, segregation, and terrorism of black Americans. That Latin America was as a region above such measures was a notion reinforced by intellectuals like José Enrique Rodó. The Uruguayan author’s immensely influential work *Ariel* (pub. 1900) affirmed a spiritual and artistic heritage shared by all Latin American countries—contrasted with the perceived utilitarianism and materialism

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<sup>69</sup>Nancy Stepan, *The Hour of Eugenics: Race, Gender, and Nation in Latin America* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996); Richard Graham, “Introduction,” in *The Idea of Race in Latin America, 1870-1940*, ed. Richard Graham (Austin: University of Texas Press), 3-4. See also Dávila, 9.

<sup>70</sup>In fact, most of the Latin American intellectual elite took immense pride in the fact that, in spite of having in many cases some of the world’s most racially diverse societies, by the turn of the century virtually no laws existed to codify racial discrimination.

of the United States.<sup>71</sup> The European fratricide of World War I also seemed to confirm the notion of an elevated, peaceful, spiritually superior Latin American culture.

Yet the development of Argentine racial ideologies proved unique within this Latin American context. One of several contentions of this dissertation is that during the 1910s and 1920s mainstream European racial ideologies and discourses—white supremacy, scientific racism, and eugenics—continued to command influence in Argentina. I emphasize the uniquely prominent role of soccer and the sports press in conveying these ideas to millions of working-class readers. To be certain, not all of that body of sports discourse was intended to vilify other national populations, nor was all of it racial in character. But the Argentine sports press nonetheless provided a unique forum for disseminating widely the notion that Argentina was a white, European-descended nation set among unlike nations.

Brazil proved a particularly attractive candidate for establishing Argentine racial difference. Brazil's large Afro-descended population, by far the hemisphere's largest in gross numbers, was made to contrast with Argentina's stream of European immigrants. For some thinkers Brazil became the tropical counterpoint to Argentina's temperate zone<sup>72</sup> and the blackness to Argentine whiteness. That some men ascribed racial and cultural differentiation between the neighboring countries was not enough, however, to guarantee the widespread propagation of their ideas. After all, Latin American countries with significant Afro-descended populations—Colombia, Haiti, or Cuba, for instance—failed to stir up comparable racially-fueled passions in Argentina. Geopolitical rivalry

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<sup>71</sup>José Enrique Rodó, *Ariel*, ed. Belén Castro Morales (Madrid: Anaya & M. Muchnik, 1995).

<sup>72</sup>Skidmore, 126. See also Gustavo Lins Ribeiro, "Tropicalismo y europeísmo. Modos de representar a Brasil y Argentina," in *La antropología brasileña contemporánea: contribuciones para un diálogo latinoamericano*, ed. Alejandro Grimson, et al (Buenos Aires: Prometeo Libros, 2004).

made Brazil a compelling national villain. Dating back to the seventeenth century, the origins of the rivalry can be traced to the struggle between the Spanish and Portuguese empires to control the South Atlantic. From an Argentine perspective, Brazil had long threatened with its superior land mass and population. By the early twentieth century Argentina enjoyed a more profitable economy and a national wealth that was more equitably distributed, it is true—Brazil could thank slavery for that fact.<sup>73</sup> But it was the centuries of geopolitical bickering, trifling though they had usually been, that gave Brazil real menace in the Argentine imagination.

The idea of an essentially white, Euro-descended Argentina, it must be emphasized, is its own cultural construct, one at the heart of twentieth-century Argentine national identity.<sup>74</sup> This construct was coming into maturation in the 1910s and 1920s, and sports media of this period played an active role in disseminating it to a popular readership. But contrary to the dominant Argentine racial ideologies, a substantial indigenous-descended and mestizo population has for centuries called Argentine home. Even more relevantly to Argentine apprehensions regarding Brazil, Argentina has since colonial times been home to a noteworthy Afro-descended population.<sup>75</sup> Even in the

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<sup>73</sup>Boris Fausto and Fernando J. Devoto, *Brasil e Argentina: Um ensaio de história comparada (1850-2002)*, São Paulo: Editora 34, 2004), 150-172.

<sup>74</sup>Arnd Schneider, "The Two Faces of Modernity: Concepts of the Melting Pot in Argentina" *Critique of Anthropology* 16, no. 173 (1996): 186-189; Mónica Quijada, "De Perón a Alberdi: Selectividad étnica y construcción nacional en la política inmigratoria argentina," *Revista de indias* 52, nos. 195-196: 867-888; Eduardo A. Zimmermann, "Racial Ideas and Social Reform: Argentina, 1890-1916," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 72, no. 1 (Feb. 1992): 29-30.

<sup>75</sup>As George Reid Andrews notes, in the twentieth century many Argentines came to believe that the Afro-Argentine population was long extinct. See *The Afro-Argentines of Buenos Aires, 1800-1900* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1980), 3-9.

soccer world of the 1910s and 1920s, at least two Afro-Argentine players, José Laguna<sup>76</sup> and Alejandro de los Santos,<sup>77</sup> made names for themselves playing for the Argentine national team and excelling with their club teams in the 1920s. But racism is not troubled by hypocrisy, and consistency is far from its concerns. Argentina, with its spectacular wealth accrued during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, was clearly destined for global greatness—a “fact” that, in accordance with white racism, seemed to confirm the superiority of its European-inflected population vis-à-vis those of its neighbors. Because Argentina’s economic rise coincided with the mass arrival of new

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<sup>76</sup>José Laguna became a household name in Argentina during the 1916 inaugural Campeonato Sudamericano tournament. A forward for the Buenos Aires team Huracán, Laguna was just another spectator in the crowd awaiting the start of the Brazil-Argentina match on July 10. The Argentine team, missing a player and unable to find an immediate replacement, summoned Laguna from the stands to take the eleventh spot on the team. Laguna scored Argentina’s only goal of the match and gained nationwide fame.

Born in Paraguay to parents of Afro-Argentine extraction, Laguna eventually moved permanently to Paraguay, coaching the Paraguayan national team in the early 1920s. Laguna was the subject of a lengthy profile written by Antonio Palacio Zino in *Crítica* in the immediate aftermath of the macaquitos affair. In it Palacio Zino reflected on how Laguna belonged to “the generation of noble black porteños who are vanishing before the law of natural selection that transforms and modifies all things. [He’s] a last bastion of a noble and exotic race transplanted [to Argentina] by merchants and adventurers,” he wrote. “Mister Bull” was also careful to note that “Laguna is not black. He’s one of those known as ‘mulattoes’.” See “Un negro célebre footballer, José Laguna, de Huracán,” *Crítica*, October 14, 1920, p. 8. See also “El negro Laguna se casa,” *Crítica*, July 5, 1923, p. 14.

<sup>77</sup>Although he was interviewed with some frequency in the Argentine sports press, this researcher was able to turn up relatively little about the life of Alejandro de los Santos. In addition to his bit role on the championship team of the 1925 Campeonato Sudamericano (De los Santos played only one of Argentina’s four matches), he also played on the national team in a variety of competitive and exhibition games—notably against Uruguay in 1923 and Paraguay in the Copa Chevalier Boutell (1924, 1925). A star during lengthy stints at Buenos Aires clubs El Porvenir and Huracán, he was also selected to play in all-star teams: in 1922 against a visiting Austro-Hungarian team and in 1923 against the visiting Genoa Cricket and Football Club. In one interview with *La Cancha* in 1929, the young Gimnasia de la Plata star (and future Boca Juniors superstar) Francisco Varallo hailed de los Santos as one of the best forwards in the country. See *La Cancha*, October 5, 1929, p. 12. See also “El rubio de los Santos,” *Crítica*, August 7, 1922, p. 8; “Notitas del match de ayer,” *Crítica*, July 5, 1923, p. 14; “El negro con alma blanca,” *La Calle*, September 19, 1928, p. 9; “El once de los Santos,” *La Cancha*, January 18, 1930, p. 9; and “Un oscuro reportaje,” *La Cancha*, April 4, 1931, p. 17.

If for some the “mulatto” José Laguna represented the felicitous “vanishing” Afro-Argentine population (see n. 75 above), Alejandro de los Santos seemed to represent the exception to the rule. Wrote one anonymous writer in *El Gráfico* in 1928: “Either there are hardly any blacks in [Argentina], or they don’t play soccer as in Uruguay. There they have [players who are] national glories like [Isabelino] Gradín, [Juan] Delgado, [José] Andrade. Here, not a sniff. The only (truly black) black that has excelled somewhat in [Argentine] sports is de los Santos, the good El Porvenir forward.” “Entre pitada y pitada,” *El Gráfico*, November 24, 1928, p. 10.

European immigrants to fill positions of labor, Argentine wealth seemed the result of its Euro-descended population rather than the other way around.

The Brazilian *macaquito* thus became an attractive archetype meant to contrast in the Argentine imagination with the Argentine *gringo*<sup>78</sup> and his assimilated descendants. Like Argentine-Brazilian geopolitical tension, the development of the specific image of the Brazilian *macaquito* also has its roots in the Southern Cone's history of regional rivalry and colonial warfare. To be sure, the associations between simian imagery and racism date from the advent of European colonialism; such iconography was widespread throughout the European colonial and neocolonial world. In the Southern Cone, Brazilians came to be associated with racist monkey iconography during the Paraguayan War, or War of the Triple Alliance (1865-1870). To swell its military during the war, the Brazilian government conscripted a substantial number of enslaved Afro-Brazilians into its army ranks, promising freedom to those who returned alive from battle.<sup>79</sup> Fixating on these Afro-descended conscripts, Paraguayan nationalists derided the invading Brazilian army and Brazilian government leaders as *macacos*; Paraguayan President Francisco Solano López himself led by example and was reported to have ordered his army officials to "kill those *macaco* devils."<sup>80</sup> Throughout the war Spanish- and Guaraní-speaking journalists and cartoonists made the *macaco* caricature a symbol of the barbarism of the

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<sup>78</sup>In Argentina the term *gringo* has traditionally referred to light-skinned European immigrants arriving in Argentina during the 1870-1930 period.

<sup>79</sup>Skidmore, 6.

<sup>80</sup>André Amaral de Toral, "A participação dos negros escravos na guerra do Paraguai," *Estudos Avançados* 9, no.24 (1995): 288.

invading Brazilian hordes.<sup>81</sup> Part of this vast cultural production eventually came to be reproduced in Argentine periodicals during the 1860s and 1870s.<sup>82</sup>

In the decades following the war, the Brazilian monkey image was largely absent from Argentine literature until the 1910s with the advent of *Crítica*, which, as mentioned, pioneered an irreverent and sometimes hostile tone to satirize perceived enemies, including, at times, Brazil. But it was the 1919-1920 anti-Brazil campaign of *Crítica*'s sports pages, singularly caustic and tenacious, that served to forever disseminate the *macaquito* to the wider Argentine popular imagination. Emerging in the middle of a new era of working-class literacy, the image of the Brazilian *macaquito* ceased to be a historical political cartoon intended for the enjoyment of the lettered elite and became firmly embedded in the popular lexicon. In this way the *macaquitos* incident—the ill-will and the polemic it produced—gave new animus to a mutually-felt distrust between nations that, as shall be discussed, endures in the present day.

### **Argentine-Brazilian Enmity: Myths and Realities**

Although the *macaquitos* incident placed race at the center of its discussion of Brazil, many expressions of Argentine angst toward Brazil—intended to explain or foment discord between the two nations—focused on geopolitical concerns rather than racial ones. In May of 1925, an Argentine pilot was accused by a Rio de Janeiro paper, *A*

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<sup>81</sup>Michael Kenneth Huner, “*Toikove Ñane Retá!* Republican Nationalism at the Battlefield Crossings of Print and Speech in Wartime Paraguay, 1867-1868,” in *Building Nineteenth-Century Latin America: Re-Rooted Cultures, Identities, and Nations*, edited by William G. Acree Jr. and Juan Carlos González Espitia (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2009): 79-97. See also James Schofield Saeger, *Francisco Solano López and the Ruination of Paraguay: Honor and Egocentrism* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2007), 26, 122, 130.

<sup>82</sup>An account by the British traveler Richard Francis Burton substantiates this claim. Burton wrote in 1870 that “in Argentine land the Luso-American is always talked of as Macáco, the ape.” See in Richard Francis Burton, *Letters from the Battle-Fields of Paraguay* (London: Tinsley Brothers, 1870), 12-13

*Notícia*, of spying on Brazil on behalf of the Argentine state. Argentine daily *Última Hora* exploded in an angry editorial that alleged Brazilian “imperialist” designs on the Southern Cone. In the same breath the editorial ridiculed Brazil’s supposed inferiority complex against Argentina: “Not a day passes without our having to read unfair accusations that give us a sense, at least, of what Brazilians think and feel toward the prosperity of [the Argentine] nation,” wrote the editors. They continued:

Argentina cannot love Brazil . . . because in Brazil we are hated. We are hated because, mentally, we are nearer to true civilization than they are, for we do not subject ourselves to imperialist delusions. And we have always had the forthrightness to laugh at the militarism, navalism, and even snobbism of those who suppose themselves the first power in the Americas, after the United States. There is more: we are hated because we are unwilling to be absorbed by a country<sup>83</sup> interested in nothing more than absorbing Brazil’s lovely coffee. We are hated. . . . It is a psychological phenomenon as identifiable in individuals as in nations. Those on the bottom hate those on the top, just as those on the top ignore those on the bottom.<sup>84</sup>

It was envy of Argentine prosperity, then—derived from Brazil’s place “on the “bottom” vis-à-vis Argentina—that had created an “enmity between Argentines and Brazilians too extremely and deeply felt for any cordiality to be possible.”<sup>85</sup>

Such “enmity” seemed unfounded at a diplomatic level. On the contrary, Argentine-Brazilian relations, while cautious, were far from adversarial in the 1910s and 1920s. Even in the soccer-related universe of the early twentieth century, mutual cordiality and respect were made emphatically evident time and time again. The Argentine government’s instant negative reaction to the *macaquito* incident was matched

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<sup>83</sup>A reference to the United States.

<sup>84</sup>“Sempre os mesmos,” *Última Hora*, May 25, 1925, PP.

<sup>85</sup>*Ibid.*

in vigor only by the attempts of the Argentine elite, through such institutions as the Jockey Club and the *Círculo de la Prensa*, to smooth things over in the days following the October 3 *Crítica* article. And when Brazil sent its national team to the 1921 Campeonato Sudamericano, held in Buenos Aires the year after the *macaquito* incident, Argentine authorities spared no expense as to their comfort. Brazilian President Washington Luis returned the gesture to an Argentine team of provincial all-stars touring Brazil in 1926. To keep up a narrative of mutual enmity in the face of such evidence, one 1924 *Crítica* piece clarified that among Brazil's "cultured classes, Argentines [were] highly esteemed and that there [was] an intense desire to intermingle and cooperate."<sup>86</sup> Hence, it was only among the "Brazilian masses," "in the majority of lower peoples, in the subconscious of the plebes, [where] deep roots of hate and scorn for Argentines ha[d] been created."<sup>87</sup>

No survey exists to corroborate the claim that the majority of "lower-class" Brazilians retained—as Palacio Zino reported—"the envy and hatred that separate blacks and whites in every part of the world."<sup>88</sup> The evidence presented here, nonetheless, reveals suspicions of the same, a trope in popular Argentine literature that pitted Argentines and Brazilians as opponents in an irreconcilable rivalry. The evidence offered for this, as can be seen, seems to coincide only on the point that Brazilians were deeply jealous of Argentine prosperity. Yet even these articles were not devoid of attempts to use racial ideology to actualize that enmity. The abovementioned *Última Hora* article

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<sup>86</sup>"En el Brasil, 'argentín' [sic] es sinónimo de compadrito. La clase culta de aquel país nos estima, pero entre el bajo pueblo nos odia," *Crítica*, July 23, 1924, p. 7.

<sup>87</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>88</sup>"Lo que you he visto en Chile. Ecos del Campeonato Sudamericano," *Crítica*, October 2, 1920, p. 8.



described Brazilians as suffering from “monkey-madness,”<sup>89</sup> adding that “all of Brazil shares the view of its brown masses. . . . Wherever we interrogate Brazilian public opinion we hear cheap rabblery, instinctual, almost irrational, as though having its origins in the basest impulses.”<sup>90</sup> “Monkey-madness” and “brown masses” were cheap jibes worthy of *Crítica*’s main competitor in the early 1920s. The complaints of the “instinctual, almost irrational” and “basest impulses” of the Brazilian masses, however, also invoked stereotypes of non-whiteness, responding to the dictums of scientific racism.

The 1924 *Crítica* piece likewise reproduced the racial ideologies of the day. To speak of the “Brazilian masses,” certainly, was to invoke that country’s non-white population. When the author added that the “lowest part of Brazil feels diminished by the personal characteristics of Argentines,”<sup>91</sup> it was unnecessary to clarify that the referenced “personal characteristics” included ever-prized whiteness. An accompanying cartoon obviated the need for further elaboration, depicting representatives of that “lowest part” of Brazilian society, dark-skinned and simian, menacing an elegantly dressed—Argentine?—aristocrat. Even when Argentine-Brazilian enmity could be explained by way of geopolitical tension or class resentment, racial anxiety loomed not far from either concern.

With race and racial identity at the heart of the issue, it is no small irony that no members of the 1920 Brazilian national team seemed identifiably Afro-descended,

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<sup>89</sup> *Monomanía*.

<sup>90</sup> “Sempre os mesmos,” *Última Hora*, May 25, 1925, PP. See also “Noticia bomba. Polimeni y Uslenghi al Brasil,” *Crítica*, August 5, 1919, p. 8. Here, Argentine soccer players are warned against traveling to Brazil, where “national pride runs absolutely wild among the *macacos*.”

<sup>91</sup> “En el Brasil, ‘argentín’ es sinónimo de compadrito. La clase culta de aquel país nos estima, pero entre el bajo pueblo nos odia,” *Crítica*, July 23, 1924, p. 7.

neither to this writer nor to the Argentine observers of that time. In fact, few Afro-Brazilians appear to have featured at all in Brazil's South American championship<sup>92</sup> teams between 1916 and 1925.<sup>93</sup> Even the magnificent Arthur Friedenreich, a player of mixed race celebrated today as Brazil's first great Afro-descended soccer star,<sup>94</sup> passed close enough as white to escape commentary in an era when blackness never went unnoticed.<sup>95</sup>

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<sup>92</sup>Due to internal institutional turmoil, Brazil did not compete in the 1924, 1926, 1927, or 1929 editions of the South American Championship.

<sup>93</sup>The photographs of Brazilian national team players scrutinized to venture this assertion were drawn from Asociación Argentina de Football, *Memorias y Balance* (1917-1925); *Crítica*, *El Gráfico*, and *La Prensa*; from various published sources about the history of Brazilian soccer; and from the amateur Brazilian soccer history websites <http://jogosdaselecaobrasileira.wordpress.com> and <http://baudofutebolce.wordpress.com>. Brazilian players' statistics taken from Roberto Mamrud, Karel Stokkermans, and Martín Tabeira, "Copa América 1916-2004," Rec.Sport.Soccer Statistics Foundation, <http://www.rsssf.com/tabless/sachamp.html>. The postulation of an overwhelmingly and premeditatedly white Brazilian national team coincides with the general historical narratives of Brazilian soccer in which black players were discriminated against, both formally and non-formally, in the Brazilian soccer world. See Antonio Jorge Soares, "O racismo no futebol do Rio de Janeiro nos anos 20: Uma história de identidade," *Revista paulista de educação física* [São Paulo] 13, no. 1 (1999): 119-129. However, the participation of Brazilian national team players Luiz Ferreira Nesi, Nelson Conceição, Silveira Amaro, and Cleobulo Faria Soda in the 1923 tournament—held in Montevideo—was an exception to this apparent tendency. The same can be said for the inclusion of Altino Marcondes ("Tatu"), who played on the national team in the 1922 Campeonato Sudamericano held in Rio de Janeiro. For more on Nesi, see Mário Filho, *O negro no futebol brasileiro*, 129; 148-149; for Tatu, *ibid*, 119-1920, and for Nelson Conceição, *ibid*, 120; 132; 140-141.

<sup>94</sup>See, for instance, Greg P. Bocketti, "Playing with National Identity: Brazil in International Football, 1900-1925," in *Negotiating Identities in Modern Latin America*, ed. Hendrik Kraay (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2007), 82-84; and Claudio Nogueira, *Futebol Brasil memória: de Oscar Cox a Leônidas da Silva (1887-1937)* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Senac Rio, 2006), 120. In the preface to the second edition of his book *O negro no futebol brasileiro*, released in 1964, Mario Filho declared Friedenreich the "first...mulatto or black hero" that Brazilian soccer produced. See *ibid*, 16. See also 61-62; 69.

<sup>95</sup>Arthur Friedenreich was the son of a German father and an Afro-Brazilian mother. In his Ph.D. dissertation René Duares Gonçalves, Jr., notes that during a match between "white all-stars" and "black all-stars" held in São Paulo in 1927, Friedenreich played with the white team. See René Duares Gonçalves, Jr., "Friedenreich e a reinvenção de São Paulo: o futebol e a vitória na fundação da metrópole" (Ph.D. diss., Universidade de São Paulo, 2008), 89-90. (Gonçalves' anecdote, it is worth noting, directly contradicts Mario Filho's dubious telling of the incident, in which neither side selected Friedenreich because it is implied, he was racially mixed. See *O negro no futebol brasileiro*, 119.) Friedenreich was also the captain of the São Paulo all-star team during its annual matches against their Rio de Janeiro counterparts, as well as a noted player for the Germânia club (made up of German-descended Brazilians) and for the bourgeois-oriented Paulistano club.

Friedenreich competed against the Argentine national team in five different South American championships (1916, 1919, 1921, 1922, and 1925), three of which were played in Buenos Aires, in addition to various cup and friendly matches. Despite Mário Filho's assertion that Friedenreich could not

Not only did the Brazilian national team players appear white—they also appeared aristocrats.<sup>96</sup> One 1922 article written by Oswaldo Gomes—a prominent Brazilian soccer official who was part of the 1920 delegation and helped supplement the Brazilian team in the ill-fated exhibition match—helpfully explained that in Brazil, in fact, soccer was a game for the high-born:

Unlike what occurs in many other countries, in Brazil soccer is played by young men from the best families, among whom it is not difficult to find university students. As a result of the players' social standing, you can see, especially in Rio de Janeiro, that attending spectators represent the most select of society, both men and women. In that respect soccer is to Brazil what horse racing is to other countries.<sup>97</sup>

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pass as white “because of his hair,” the fact that Friedenreich’s famed mixed-race heritage never appears to have been highlighted in the Argentine or Brazilian press speaks for itself. His non-whiteness was emphasized and mythologized decades after his heyday. For Filho’s assertion, see *O negro no futebol brasileiro*, 61.

The contrast between the Friedenreich case and other, more identifiably Afro-descended Latin American players is an instructive one in this context. In addition to the Brazilian cases mentioned throughout this chapter, the Argentine popular press treated black Uruguayan national team players like Isabelino Gradín, Juan Delgado, and José Andrade as the objects of jokes or curiosity. This was also the case with the Afro-Argentine player Alejandro de los Santos and with the English player Jack Leslie, who attracted attention touring Argentina with Plymouth Argyle in 1924.

<sup>96</sup> The anthropologist José Sérgio Leite Lopes has documented how the aristocratic character of the Brazilian soccer scene lasted well into the 1920s. Leite Lopes emphasizes the history of the Rio de Janeiro club Vasco da Gama, which was the first major club in Brazil to integrate black, white, and mixed-race players. Such an inclusivist approach earned Vasco da Gama not only the 1923 championship trophy, but also the contempt of its more elitist carioca league rivals. Self-styled aristocratic teams like Fluminense and Botafogo attempted to impede “outsider” non-white players from playing in the league by introducing literacy requirements, among other measures. Eventually the league officials relaxed their restrictions to allow the participation of non-white players. Although the dissenting clubs formulated their complaints in socio-economic terms, the racial politics were clear. Leite Lopes dryly notes that working-class clubs in São Paulo like Palestra Itália and Corinthians had no trouble breaking into the aristocratic São Paulo league: during the 1910s and 1920s those teams, while working class, were made up almost entirely of European immigrants rather than black and mixed-race Brazilians. See Leite Lopes, “Class, Ethnicity, and Color in the Making of Brazilian Football,” in *Daedalus* 129, no. 2 (Spring 2000): 247-254. For the influence of São Paulo’s Italian diaspora in the development of Brazilian soccer, see Gregg P. Bocketti, “Italian Immigrants, Brazilian Football, and the Dilemma of National Identity” in *Journal of Latin American Studies* 40, no. 2 (May 2008): 275-302.

<sup>97</sup> Oswaldo Gomes, “La difusión de los deportes atléticos,” in *Un homenaje al Brasil en la fecha de su primer centenario* (Buenos Aires: La Nación, 1922).

This characterization of Brazilian soccer culture appeared in a ponderous, sumptuously produced tome published by Argentine newspaper *La Nación*<sup>98</sup> to celebrate Brazil's 1922 centennial. The book's many authors were principally Brazilian, assembled by *La Nación* to present to an Argentine audience, on the eve of Brazil's massive independence celebration, a comprehensive portrait of all aspects of Brazilian history, economy, and society. Gomes' description of Brazilian soccer was surely meant to contrast with the Argentine soccer scene, where gentlemen and upper-class students had not had a meaningful presence in the stadium or on the field for some fifteen years. Argentine soccer was by 1922 already a thoroughly working-class sport, popular, with a mythos already coalescing to celebrate the working-class soccer stars to whom the genesis of a uniquely Argentine style of play was attributed. Published a mere two years after the *macaquitos* incident, Gomes was quite possibly replying to Palacio Zino's derisive caricature of Brazilian soccer: its players could scarcely be called plebian, much less *macaquitos*.

There is evidence to suggest that Gomes' claims were more than wishful thinking. Several observers noted throughout the 1920s that the Brazilian national soccer team players were drawn from the elite.<sup>99</sup> The captain of the 1920 national team—object of

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<sup>98</sup>As discussed in chapter one, *La Nación* was unapologetically traditional and conservative, the indispensable source of daily news for the Argentine elite.

<sup>99</sup>Relevant passages in *La Razón* (1920) and *La Cancha* (1928) further substantiate the salience of upper-class Brazilians on the national soccer team. Affirmed one Argentine reporter on the eve of the Brazilians' ill-fated visit to Buenos Aires in 1920: "Contrary to other countries, soccer clubs in Brazil are characterized by the select players that constitute them. This way the representatives sent to international competitions, like the recent [1920 Campeonato Sudamericano held in Chile], have the opportunity to leave a perfect impression of distinction and respectability." The reporter added that accompanying the 1920 Brazilian delegation, then arriving in Buenos Aires, were "ladies of a most distinguished class, who have procured during their short stay with us a closer bond between the elevated classes of both [Argentine and Brazilian] societies. In addition to the officials leading it, the delegation is made up of a select group of players, almost all of them young university students and high-up employees at businesses and banks. If the goal of international fraternization has already been reached by the mere fact of their presence here, [the

the original *macaquito* insult—was one Augusto Sisson, a medical doctor and an aristocrat, understudy to noted Brazilian bacteriologist Carlos Chagas.<sup>100</sup> Other national team delegates included Lafayette de Carvalho e Silva, a noted ambassador and presidential secretary, and the aforementioned Oswaldo Gomes, a lawyer who in 1921 would be elected president of Brazil’s new national soccer confederation. A few years later, on the eve of the 1925 Campeonato Sudamericano, Brazilian soccer would continue to be perceived as a sport for national elite. Argentine reporters noted that the Brazilian players were “true gentlemen,” with “both delegates and players figuring prominently in Brazil’s principle social and business classes.”<sup>101</sup> The team reportedly counted among its players a banker, a military officer, an engineering student, an office manager, a landed aristocrat, and a coffee plantation owner. So impressive seemed the delegation that one writer wondered if the Brazilian state had selected these specific players with its international image in mind.<sup>102</sup>

That members of the Brazilian national team were “young men from the best families”—members of the white elite, it went without saying—made *Crítica*’s

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Brazilians] will further be able to receive the indisputable benefit of intellectual and business-oriented exchanges on the side” (“La representación deportiva brasileña,” *La Razón*, October 4, 1920, PP). Eight years later, one Argentine living in Brazil reported the following in an Argentine soccer magazine: “The thing is, over [in Brazil] soccer clubs are aristocratic entities. Members are the cream of Rio society. It’s as though we were discussing the Jockey Club or Círculo de Armas here [in Buenos Aires]. Just like at our horserace tracks, ladies show up at big matches with a touch of elegance. It’s a different environment, something you perceive in the players, many of them from the best families” (“El fútbol brasileño, ¿es tan poderoso como el rioplatense?” *La Cancha*, August 11, 1928, p. 10).

<sup>100</sup>“Nuestros huéspedes, los footballers brasileños,” *Última Hora*, September 2, 1920, p. 8. More information about Augusto Maria Sisson (1894-1982) can be found on his family’s website. See Família Sisson: A História da Família no Brasil, “Augusto Maria Sisson (filho),” <http://familiasisson.wordpress.com/biografias/augusto-maria-sisson-filho/>.

<sup>101</sup>*Crítica*, December 3, 1925, p. 13.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid.

provocations all the more defamatory. The indignant Brazilian minister of foreign relations was moved to file a complaint with his Argentine counterpart not because black players had been mocked as monkeys, but because respectable white Brazilians were mocked as plebes or, worse, as black. Discomfort with Brazil's Afro-descended population was deeply ingrained in the Brazilian elite. This unease is perfectly captured in that same 1922 *La Nación* homage abovementioned. In an article called "Brasil político y social," noted Brazilian journalist Assis Chateaubriand<sup>103</sup> conceded that Brazil did suffer "a black race problem, [one] that the slave system introduced into Brazil."<sup>104</sup> "Quantitatively, African and indigenous blood predominate in Brazil," agreed distinguished Argentine intellectual Joaquín Víctor González in a separate article. "But qualitatively the white element tends to dominate when introduced." González ended his tribute to Brazil by looking forward to "the progressive elimination of non-white blood, enabled by the elimination of the slave trade and by European immigration, which promises to continue."<sup>105</sup> For his part, Chateaubriand cheerfully concluded by noting that the key to developing Brazil was to harness "the ever-more visible power of the white element, which has already imposed, as it should, its industrious rhythms on the rest of the population."<sup>106</sup>

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<sup>103</sup>Francisco de Assis Chateaubriand Bandeira de Melo (1892-1968) was an influential journalist and senator eventually to be hailed by some as Brazil's first media mogul. See Fernando Morais, *Chatô: o rei do Brasil* (São Paulo: Editora Schwarcz, 1994).

<sup>104</sup>Assis Chateaubriand, "Brasil político y social," in *Un homenaje al Brasil en la fecha de su primer centenario* (Buenos Aires: La Nación, 1922).

<sup>105</sup>Joaquín V. González, "El centenario brasileño," *ibid.*

<sup>106</sup>Assis Chateaubriand, *ibid.*

Argentina's favorite tabloid, then, had it all wrong about Brazil. Where *Crítica* spoke of "scrawny men, sickly men, the fantasy of humans and monkeys,"<sup>107</sup> Brazilians saw an undeniably heterogeneous population nonetheless brought under the biological and socio-cultural force of its growing white race. Such ideas about race preceded by a decade the epoch-changing ideas of Gilberto Freyre, who argued that the "African element," mixed through the miscegenational process with other cultures, made Brazilian society richer, unique, and racially democratic.<sup>108</sup> But the ideas of Chateaubriand and González lived on even in post-1920s, perpetuated by the very same Freyrian ideologies intended to subvert them: only through its dilution with European blood and culture could Afro-Brazilian culture contribute positively to the nation. And the anti-Brazilian campaign led by Antonio Palacio Zino denied Brazil the possibility of whitening, which was at the absolute heart of the Brazilian national project. Nothing short of military failure could have done as much harm to the image Brazilians wished to project abroad. And for Argentines few things more clearly demonstrated the contrast between Argentine whiteness and the darkness of their northern neighbors.

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<sup>107</sup>"Las bellezas del país del norte," *Crítica*, October 3, 1919, p. 8.

<sup>108</sup>José Luiz Passos and Valéria Costa e Silva, "Gilberto Freyre's Concept of Culture in *The Masters and the Slaves*," in *Brazil in the Making: Facets of National Identity*, ed. Carmen Nava and Ludwig Lauerhass, 45-68 (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield); Dante Moreira Leite, *O carácter nacional brasileiro: História de uma ideologia*, 7<sup>th</sup> edition (São Paulo: Editora UNESP, 2007); Schwarcz, *O espetáculo das raças*; Peter Burke and Maria Lúcia G. Pillares-Burke, *Gilberto Freyre: Social Theory in the Tropics* (Bern and Oxford: Peter Lang, 2008), 51-98. For historical background on the notion of Brazil as a racial democracy, see Emílio Viotti da Costa, "The Myth of Racial Democracy: A Legacy of the Empire," in *The Brazilian Empire: Myths and Histories*, rev. ed., 125-170 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000).

## The Distinctive Discursive Space of the Argentine Sports Pages

For Antonio Palacio Zino and his cartoonist accomplice, Diógenes Taborda, the Argentine government's threat of legal action did not fall on deaf ears. The two were apparently strong-armed into public apologies in the days following the local magistrate's order to proceed with their arrest. Taborda's "defense" was a lesson in double-entendre, wordplay, and, above all, cheek. The legendary cartoonist was widely known by his nickname, "El mono;"<sup>109</sup> the moniker was appended to all his work. Taking advantage of the coincidence in nomenclature, Taborda styled his apology as an open letter to his "simian brother" the Argentine Minister of Justice. His drawings were not to be taken literally, was his main point. "Caricatures are faithful reflections of the inner life of the human being," he argued.<sup>110</sup> "The minister knows well that my friends call me *mono*. We are all *monos*. There are *macacos* in government, in business, in every daily activity." Taborda concluded by proclaiming, "It would be utterly silly for me to deny my race. I'm a *mono* with pride." Taborda's unexpectedly complex apologia attempted to inject the escalating affair with levity and to reinforce the key point that would keep the two men from violating of Law 49: drawing Brazilians as monkeys was a joke, devoid of any intent toward racial insult.

Palacio Zino was also determined to defuse the situation by making light of it. In his personal weekly sports magazine, *Mister Bull*, his tone was for the most part unrepentant. Another Taborda cartoon adorned one edition's cover, this one portraying the Brazilian delegation as monkeys milling about a Buenos Aires-bound ship. The five-

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<sup>109</sup>"The monkey" in Spanish.

<sup>110</sup>"Defensa de nuestro dibujante el Mono Taborda. Una carta a su hermano, el de Instrucción Pública," *Crítica*, October 7, 1920, p. 8.



page cover story was principally intended to celebrate Palacio Zino's role in the unfolding diplomatic scandal, and in so doing, to draw publicity to the magazine. "The Shenanigans of Mister Bull," the article was merrily titled. "Too Many Ministers for Such a Small Thing! The Monkeys Are Scandalized—A Bit of Operetta—Decent Brazilians Can Rest Easy." Yet it was here that he offered his most sophisticated defense. First, he emphasized that his October 3 article had been aimed solely at a small "nucleus" of Brazilians, and certainly at not any "decent" ones. When he finally got around to explaining his anti-Brazil campaign, Palacio Zino did so by highlighting the unique discursive space that constituted the sports pages, one exempt from the standards of civic responsibility circumscribing other genres of journalism. "These soccer shenanigans are simply moments of humor, and the language of [sports] commentary is different from other sections. It's ridiculous to expect a joke of a newspaper to write something serious. These are simple *brincadeiras*."<sup>111</sup>

Owner Natalio Botana would have grimaced to hear his increasingly influential tabloid referred to a "joke of a paper." But Palacio Zino's characterization of the sports pages as "different from the other sections" would prove crucial to his ultimately successful defense. This argument established, there was no way a simple sports story could be seen to violate Law 49, article 7, cited earlier; Palacio Zino could, and did, plead ignorance as to the potential fallout his article had created. His confession bears repeating: "Neither the paper nor the reporter thought for an instant that the article could affect the peace of the continent. . . . On the other hand, this corrosive affair has had no

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<sup>111</sup>*Brincadeiras* is the Portuguese word meaning "jokes." "Los líos de Mister Bull," *Mister Bull*, October 9, 1920, p. 2.

other effect than that of elevating modest sports opinions. Soccer resides far from diplomacy.”<sup>112</sup>

In their defense Antonio Palacio Zino and “el Mono” Taborda emphasized not just that the sports pages were exempt from the civil standards of other genres of writing, but also that the content, tone, and language were fundamentally different. In that regard, he was more right than he knew. The content in Argentine sports media of the 1920s—not just in *Crítica*, but in other popular sportswriting in *La Razón*, *La República*, *Última Hora*, *El Gráfico*, *El Mundo*, *La Cancha*, and others—was absolutely unique, particularly in matters of xenophobia, racial discourse, and nationalist chauvinism. Accepting their singularity, however, does not mean that that sports pages were somehow marginal in their circulation or cultural influence. The popularity of the sports press enhanced its influence—a fact of which the national ministers and the traditional press were well aware, spurring their prompt and concerted condemnation of *Crítica*. Furthermore, as much as Palacio Zino must have wished it at the moment his arrest loomed large, matters of soccer lay not at all far from matters of diplomacy. Soccer was an indispensable tool at the disposition of ambassadors, business leaders, mayors, governors, and presidents. Members of upper and lower classes were inextricably bound up in its organization and performance. No one could afford to ignore soccer or the journalism it produced. And when norms of conduct were violated, and in a manner as egregious as in the *macaquitos* affair, the arbiters of soccer diplomacy acted without hesitation.

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<sup>112</sup>“Los líos de Mister Bull,” *Mister Bull*, October 9, 1920, p. 3.

## Conclusion: Canonizing the Macaquitos Affair

In a scattered apology offered in *Crítica*,<sup>113</sup> Palacio Zino indicated his wish and intention to return to Brazil as the paper's correspondent for the 1922 Campeonato Sudamericano, to be held in Rio de Janeiro as part of Brazil's centennial celebrations. It was not to be. *Crítica* severed its relationship with him shortly following the *macaquitos* affair. It was subsequently reported that Palacio Zino had always intended to go into law, though a mid-aged career change for one of the country's most beloved sportswriters, at the height of his popularity, seems an unlikely turn. "Mister Bull" was almost certainly forced out of journalism. To never again work for a newspaper was the price, it seemed, for Palacio Zino's evasion of trial. He was never arrested and never indicted. Directly following the "apologies" published by Palacio Zino and Taborda in *Crítica* and *Mister Bull*, the matter was buried and forgotten by all legal and diplomatic parties. Throughout the 1920s, sports publications would occasionally seek the opinion of "Argentina's most popular sports writer" to adjudge the merits of a touring foreign team.<sup>114</sup> But Palacio Zino's aborted journalism career faded quickly into memory and then forgetfulness as his voice became displaced by those journalists who continue to tower over the history of the

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<sup>113</sup>The sophistry of Palacio Zino's published "defense" in *Mister Bull* was matched by the fatuousness of what he published in *Crítica*. His anti-Brazil campaign, he wrote in *Crítica*, was a "just response" to criticism he had received in Brazil after he had published his Campeonato Sudamericano exposé in 1919. Referencing the 1920 Campeonato Sudamericano in Chile, which Palacio Zino had attended as a correspondent, the reporter claimed to have been "provoked in every moment" by the Brazilian players, including by the team captain Sisson, who had brandished a revolver during one altercation. Palacio Zino ended his apologia by condemning the Brazilian players for refusing to play the exhibition game in Buenos Aires and provoking a riot among the discontented spectators. See "Ante mi conflicto con algunos brasileños. La acusación fiscal," *Crítica*, October 7, 1920, p. 8.

<sup>114</sup>"El más bochinero de los cronistas de football. Antonio Palacio Zino, el doctor," *El Gráfico*, June 9, 1928, p. 43. Also see, for example, "El Dr. Antonio Palacio Zino expresa su opinion sobre el Motherwell," *La Argentina*, May 14, 1928, p. 13; and "Ahora tenemos mayor número de jugadores, pero los de hace 20 años eran muy superiores," *La Cancha*, June 8, 1929, p. 17. Palacio Zino also collaborated with the production of a cinematic homage to the Boca Juniors team released in 1934. "Se exhibirá un film evocativo de Boca Juniors," *La Razón*, December 26, 1934.

golden era of Argentine sports journalism: Ricardo Lorenzo (“Borocotó”), Alfredo Enrique Rossi (“Chantecler”), and the notable Hugo Marini, who replaced Palacio Zino at *Crítica*.

The *macaquitos* affair has proven nonetheless impossible to excise from collective memory, both Argentine and Brazilian. Through the 1920s *macaco* and *macaquito* continued to be favorite terms for demeaning Brazilians in popular Argentine publications including but not limited to *Crítica*, such as *Última Hora*, *La Cancha*, and *El Gráfico*.<sup>115</sup> While such references to Brazil faded in the mid-twentieth century with the decline of transatlantic white supremacy ideologies, the epithets popularized during the 1919-1920 anti-Brazil campaign were preserved in the realm of soccer. Some years later, during a 1937 Campeonato Sudamericano tournament held in Buenos Aires, *macaquito* insults from the Argentine crowd nearly caused the cancellation of the Argentina-Brazil match.”<sup>116</sup> The legendary Brazilian player Pelé, in declarations to Télam and EFE news agencies, also recalled similar racial insults during matches played in Argentina in the 1960s.<sup>117</sup>

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<sup>115</sup>See, for instance: “O ‘homem-macaco’ en la Academia de Medicina de rio de Janeiro,” *Crítica*, July 3, 1923, p.4; “El negro Laguna se casa,” *Crítica*, July 5, 1923, p. 14; *Crítica*, “El ‘peligro exterior’ está encantado,” *Crítica*, July 18, 1923, p. 3; “Horrendo caso de antropofagia en el Brasil,” *Crítica*, July 20, 1923, p. 4; “El mono Taborda perturbador de la paz Americana,” *Crítica*, August 7, 1923, p. 4; “Monos y monadas,” *Crítica*, August 9, 1923, p. 7; *Crítica*, August 11, 1923, p. 3; *Crítica*, July 23, 1924, p. 7; *Última Hora*, May 24, 1925, PP; “Comentarios risueños sobre el football,” *El Gráfico*, February 26, 1927, p. 40; “Voronoff, el líder de la macacomania fue agregido en el país de los monos,” *Última Hora*, July 26, 1928, p. 15; “El América es una murga,” [FAN LETTER] *La Cancha*, March 2, 1929, p.14; “Los brasileños inician un ataque” [CARTOON], *ibid.*, March 16, 1929; and “Es hincha de los cariocas,” *ibid.*, March 30, 1929.

<sup>116</sup>Gilberto Agostino, “Nós e Ellos, Nosotros y Eles. Brazil x Argentina: Os Inimigos Fraternos,” in *Memória social dos esportes. Futebol e política: a construção de uma identidade nacional*, ed. Francisco Carlox Teixeira Silva, et al (Rio de Janeiro: MAUAD, 2006), 70.

<sup>117</sup>Vitor Pajaro, “Pelé relembra pressão em La Bombonera e caso de racismo: ‘los macaquitos do Brasil’,” *UOL* [São Paulo], June 27, 2012, <http://esporte.uol.com.br/futebol/campeonatos/libertadores/ultimas-noticias/2012/06/27/pele-relembra-pressao-em-la-bombonera-e-caso-de-racismo-los-macaquitos-de-brasil.htm> (accessed June 2012). See also “Pelé alerta sobre racismo en Argentina-Brasil,” *EFE*, April 20,

From a Brazilian standpoint events in more recent years have seemed to confirm that anti-Brazilian prejudice, expressed through the *macaquitos* epithet, still thrives in Argentina. Following a high-profile match played in Brazil between Argentine and Brazilian clubs in April 2005, Brazilian player Edinaldo Batista Libânio (“Grafite”) accused Argentine player Leandro Desábato of calling him a *macaco*. Because racial insult in Brazil is punishable by law, the accusation led to a two-day stay in Brazilian jail for the Argentine player while Brazilian police investigated the verity of the claim.<sup>118</sup> A similar episode occurred in June 2009 when Argentine Maximiliano López, then playing for the Porto Alegre club Grêmio in the Brazilian national league, was accused of the same offense by Cruzeiro player Elicarlos Souza Santos.

No convictions resulted from the Desábato and López cases. Despite the slow-motion replays scrutinized ad infinitum by the Brazilian media in the frenzy that briefly ensued, no evidence ever emerged to support the accusations of Argentine racism by the Afro-Brazilian players. Just the same, few in the Brazilian media expressed doubt as to the likely veracity of the accusations. The allegations seemed to justify longstanding

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2005, <http://www.nuevodiarioweb.com.ar/notas/2005/4/20/deporte-177877.asp> (accessed October 2011); and “Pelé: Cuando jugaba en la Argentina me decían ‘negro sucio’,” *Infobae.com* (Argentina), April 28, 2006, <http://www.infobae.com/notas/251831-Pele-Cuando-jugaba-en-la-Argentina-me-decian-039negro-sucio039.html> (accessed October 2011).

Curiously, in the third article cited above, Pelé recalled, “When I played [matches] in Argentina, they’d call me ‘dirty black’ (*negro sucio*) and ‘Brazilian macaco (*macaco do Brasil*).” But in citing these examples on this occasion, the legendary Brazilian player argued against the existence of racism on the soccer field. Referring to the on-field insults he received as a player, and those still exchanged by players in the present day, he remarked, “It’s a personal matter. . . . That’s just nonsense that should be forgotten. There are millions of soccer games every year, every day of the week, and one thing or another [always happens]. There’s no racism in soccer—it’s a sport that creates unity.” See also “Pelé dice que no hay racismo en el fútbol,” *EFE*, April 26, 2006, <http://www.mediotiempo.com/futbol/mexico/noticias/2006/04/26/pele-dice-que-no-hay-racismo-en-el-futbol?url=/futbol/mexico/noticias/2006/04/26/pele-dice-que-no-hay-racismo-en-el-futbol> (accessed October 2011). Pelé’s remarks to the EFE and Télam news agencies came shortly after the Desábato-Grafite incident.

<sup>118</sup>Grafite ultimately opted against pursuing the case legally.

misgivings on the part of some Brazilians toward Argentine racial attitudes. The Brazilian academic world has not been immune from these misgivings. During the Latin American Studies Association Conference held in Rio de Janeiro in 2009, at a panel dealing with Latin American soccer, Brazilian academics Ronaldo Helal and Simoni Guedes both affirmed the centrality the *macaquitos* insult to Brazilians' perception of Argentines. Neither scholar expressed awareness regarding the exact details of the incident.<sup>119</sup> Nonetheless, the *macaquitos* affair of 1920 has firmly embedded a mutually shared sense of racial and cultural distrust in the consciousness of both national populations, in both popular and academic circles.<sup>120</sup>

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<sup>119</sup>Ronaldo G. Helal, "Argentinos e Brasileiros ou do 'odiar amar' e do 'amar odiar,'" (paper presented at the 28<sup>th</sup> International Congress of the Latin American Studies Association, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, June 11-14, 2009); and Simoni L. Guedes, "Futebol e corporalidade na Argentina e no Brasil," (paper presented at the 28<sup>th</sup> International Congress of the Latin American Studies Association, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, June 11-14, 2009).

<sup>120</sup> In terms of Brazilian scholarship citing the *macaquitos* taunt as a central factor in Brazilian-Argentine relations, see Carlos Alberto Figueiredo da Silva, "Racismo para dentro y para fora: o caso Grafite-Desábato," *Efdeportes.com Revista Digital* 10, no. 84 (May 2005), available at <http://www.efdeportes.com/efd84/racismo.htm>; Agostino, "Nos e Ellos, Nosotros e Eles;" as well as Helal; and Guedes. For mainstream media coverage along the same lines, see Domingo Alzugaray, "Brazil x Argentina: o problema é deles," Centro de Mídia Independente (CMI) Brasil, August 16, 2003, <http://www.midiaindependente.org/pt/blue/2003/08/261173.shtml> (accessed October 2011); Maurício Stycer, "'Macaquitos' é mais chacota do que racismo," *defende o autor de Brasil x Argentina*, *iG Esporte*, July 23, 2009, <http://esporte.ig.com.br/futebol/2009/07/23/macauquitos+e+mais+chacota+do+que+racismo+defende+o+autor+de+brasil+x+argentina+7458961.html> (accessed October 2011); and Urariano Mota, "Grafite, o negro," *La Insignia*, April 17, 2005, [http://www.lainsignia.org/2005/abril/soc\\_008.htm](http://www.lainsignia.org/2005/abril/soc_008.htm) (accessed October 2011). Behind the scenes in the Portuguese-language edition of Wikipedia, a lengthy discussion between users occurred regarding the appropriateness of an article entitled "Macaquitos." Some contributors questioned the historicity of the *macaquitos* mythology while other online editors seemed to fully accept the version of Argentine-Brazilian racial relations canonized by Lima Barreto, Mário Filho, and Eduardo Galeano. See "Wikipédia Discussão: Páginas para eliminar/Macaquitos," *Wikipédia: A encyclopédia libre*, [http://pt.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wikip%C3%A9dia\\_Discuss%C3%A3o:P%C3%A1ginas\\_para\\_eliminar/Macaquitos](http://pt.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wikip%C3%A9dia_Discuss%C3%A3o:P%C3%A1ginas_para_eliminar/Macaquitos). For more popular sources, any internet search combining terms like "Argentina," "Brasil," "racismo," "macaco," or "macaquito" can help provide an anecdotal notion of popular Brazilian understandings of regarding Argentine racial ideology. A comparable search for Spanish-language discussions indicates that these racial terms are still operative in popular Argentine soccer discourse. User comments on sports websites, blogs, video sites, and social media sites are particularly instructive in this regard.

The events of 1919-1920 related here have infused a longstanding geopolitical rivalry with a corrosive racial and cultural facet. Though its roots are thus identifiable, this transnational distrust has birthed one particularly prevalent urban legend that has come to be disseminated worldwide despite the complete lack of evidence to support it. In late 1921, the year following the *macaquitos* affair, the then-annual Campeonato Sudamericano was to be held in Buenos Aires. As mentioned earlier, Brazilian soccer authorities resolved to send the Brazilian national team to the Argentine capital despite the previous year's un-pleasantries. Shortly before the commencement of the tournament, Brazilian writer Lima Barreto published the claim that Brazilian president Epitácio Pessoa had issued a decree barring Afro-Brazilians from that year's national team.<sup>121</sup> The humiliating stereotypes of Brazil resulting from the *Crítica* affair had deeply embarrassed Pessoa, went Lima Barreto's reasoning. As a result the president had insisted that in Buenos Aires Brazilian nationhood only be represented by members of the white Brazilian elite. This "whitening decree," argues Brazilian legal scholar Marcílio Toscano Franca, is devoid of evidence to support it. Research by Toscano Franca unearthed no official decree or any other documentation to indicate any degree of presidential meddling in the makeup of the Brazilian national team.<sup>122</sup> Elements of Lima Barreto's anecdote, however, were recycled by Brazilian journalist Mário Filho in his seminal 1947 work *O negro no futebol brasileiro*, a book highly regarded and widely

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<sup>121</sup>"Bendito Football," in *Obras Completas de Lima Barreto*, (São Paulo: Ed. Brasiliense, 1956), 1: 89. This article, reproduced in this 1956 collection, was originally published on October 1, 1921.

<sup>122</sup>Marcílio Toscano Franca, "Epitácio, Futebol e Pureza Racial: Um Breve Nota para a História dos Direitos Humanos no Brasil," in *Juízes e Judiciário: História, casos, vidas*, ed. Vladimir Passos de Freitas, 148-154 (Curitiba, Brazil: Edição do autor, 2012). I am indebted to Toscano Franca for making the documentary connection between Lima Barreto, Mário Filho, and Eduardo Galeano.

read in Brazil.<sup>123</sup> Decades later Eduardo Galeano, the popular Uruguayan author, acquainted with Filho's work, presented Pessoa's "whitening decree" as fact in his book *El fútbol a sol y sombra*.<sup>124</sup> Galeano's account, translated into dozens of languages, has enjoyed global circulation. The myth of Pessoa's "whitening decree," thanks in no small part to Galeano, has become a widely-shared anecdote in academic publications, in the mainstream press, and on the internet's myriad soapboxes.<sup>125</sup>

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<sup>123</sup>In *O negro no futebol brasileiro* Mário Filho published a new, albeit confused, narrative of the macaquitos affair consisting of elements, both real and imagined, inspired by various events. In Mário Filho's version, it was Oscar Costa, then the president of the Confederação Brasileira do Deporte, and not president of Brazil Epitácio Pessoa, who had made the decision to take an all-white team to Buenos Aires. And according to Mário Filho, this exclusion occurred in 1925 rather than 1921. Furthermore, according to *O negro no futebol brasileiro*, Costa made this decision in response to the events of the 1923 Campeonato Sudamericano held in Montevideo, where "the Brazilian team had taken too many mulattoes and blacks to Montevideo" and had been mocked as *macaquitos* by the Uruguayan press. Mário Filho also claimed that during the decisive Argentina-Brazil match of the 1925 tournament the Argentine crowd sparked a racially-tinged riot against Artur Friedenreich to prevent him from scoring a winning goal. See *ibid*, 144-147. It is true that Brazilian officials had included a number of non-white players on its 1923 national team and had excluded like players from its 1925 squad bound for Buenos Aires (see n. 92 above). Nevertheless, Mário Filho's account is so at odds with archival sources and includes so many factual and chronological errors that his version of events is never cited by sports historians—a significant development given the propensity for uncritical regurgitations in that genre of publication. Just the same, the key elements of the original macaquitos affair are all present in *O negro no futebol brasileiro*: Brazilian officials eager to project Brazilian whiteness abroad; a riot in the Argentine stands in the general context of a Campeonato Sudamericano tournament; and an all-white Brazilian team dispatched to Buenos Aires with the knowledge that if "[black] players were sent to Buenos Aires they would be called 'macaquitos'" (144). Mario Filho ultimately kept the macaquitos affair in vivid memory for the next generation even while muddling the facts.

<sup>124</sup>Eduardo Galeano, "De mutilación a plenitude," in *El fútbol a sol y sombra* (Mexico City: Siglo XXI Editores, 1995), 48-49. Galeano also recounted this story under the heading "Rice Powder" in *Century of Wind: Memory of Fire* (Basic Books, 2010), 50-51.

<sup>125</sup>One remarkable example of the reach of Galeano's retelling—recycled in turn from Mário Filho and Lima Barreto—is a widely sold institutional history of the Brazilian national soccer team published in 2004 with the express consent of the Confederação Brasileira de Futebol, the governing body of Brazilian soccer. See Antonio Carlos Napoleão and Roberto Assaf, *Seleção Brasileira: 90 anos, 1914-2004* (Rio de Janeiro: MAUAD, 2004), 31. An internationally syndicated article published in European newspapers in 2006 by the French writer Pascal Boniface in preparation for the 2006 World Cup presents a similar example. See "Le talent contre le racisme," *L'Equipe*, July 1, 2006; and *ibid*, "Brasil," *La Vanguardia* (Barcelona), July 1, 2006, p. 65. Boniface repeated this claim in his 2006 book *Football et mondialisation* (Paris: Armond Colin, 2006). Brazilian academic books recycling this "whitening decree" claim include: Heloisa Turini Bruhns, *Futebol, carnaval e capoeira: entre as gingas do corpo brasileiro* (Campinas, Brazil: Papirus Editora, 2000), 59; Waldenyr Caldas, *O pontapé inicial: memória do futebol brasileiro (1894-1933)* (São Paulo: Instituição Brasileira de Difusão Cultural, 1990), 102; Agostino, 63-64; and Leonardo Affonso de Miranda Pereira, *Footballmania: uma história social do futebol no Rio de Janeiro, 1902-1938* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Nova Fronteira, 2000), 176. Citing Pereira, Bocketti revived the claim in English-



Yet it is natural that these claims continue to go unquestioned. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the great majority of Brazilian national team players appear to have been white during the 1910s and 1920s, and the Rio de Janeiro league is documented to have discriminated against the participation of non-white players during the same period. Furthermore, the racial insults issued repetitively from the pages of *Crítica* deeply branded the Brazilian consciousness with a sense of cultural persecution. In the late 1910s and early 1920s the insults wounded Brazilian pride, though not because the Brazilian ruling class of that time aspired to a multicultural society in which Afro-descended Brazilians were viewed positively. Rather, the *macaquitos* affair defied the longstanding Brazilian dreams of breeding out blackness. The Brazilian elite responded by projecting an international image of whiteness through its national soccer team, though not by way of presidential decree, as many believe. In later decades, Brazilian reactions to Argentine antagonism—real and imagined—would take on more varied tones of moral outrage, now from the perspective of a country that purported to pride itself on the contribution of African-ness and blackness to Brazilian society and culture.

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language scholarship in “Playing with National Identity,” 82. Agostino propagated his scholarly recounting of the “whitening decree” in a glossy insert entitled “Profiles of the First Black and Mulatto Stars of Brazilian Soccer” that was added to every 2004 edition of *O negro no futebol brasileiro*. Located in the profile written in the insert for Arthur Friedenreich, Agostino provides what is likely the widest dissemination of the whitening decree myth in the Portuguese-speaking world. For mainstream news sites recycling the myth of the Epitácio Pessoa “whitening decree,” see, for instance: “Epitácio Pessoa,” in *Wikipedia: The Free Encyclopedia* (Wikipedia Foundation Inc., updated July 12, 2011); available at [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Epit%C3%A1cio\\_Pessoa](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Epit%C3%A1cio_Pessoa), accessed November 2011; Tim Vickery, “Tim Vickery Column,” *BBC Sport*, December 3, 2007, available at <http://news.bbc.co.uk/sport2/hi/football/internationals/7124554.stm> (accessed November 2011); Robin Hackett, “Head Over Heels,” *ESPN Soccernet*, February 17, 2011; available at [http://soccernet.espn.go.com/columns/story/\\_/id/881268/first-xi-head-over-heels?cc=5901](http://soccernet.espn.go.com/columns/story/_/id/881268/first-xi-head-over-heels?cc=5901), accessed November 2011; Willie Gannon, “Profiles of the Great and Good,” *Bleacher Report* and *Los Angeles Times*, October 19, 2008; available at [bleacherreport.com/articles/70531-profiles-of-the-great-and-good-arthur-friedenreich-the-original-black-pearl](http://bleacherreport.com/articles/70531-profiles-of-the-great-and-good-arthur-friedenreich-the-original-black-pearl), accessed November 2011; and Luciano Wernicke, “El presidente racista que no aceptaba negros en su equipo,” *Infobae.com* (Argentina), July 4, 2011; available at <http://playfutbol.infobae.com/notas/591301-El-presidente-racista-que-no-aceptaba-negros-en-su-equipo.html>, accessed November 2011.

The ideological roots of sports competition in the transatlantic world were undoubtedly noble-minded. Pedants and politicians envisioned an era in which nations would cement friendship not just through dealings between ambassadors and embassies, but also between soccer players and officials. Elite soccer institutions strove to adhere to this ethos. But the nation-state envisioned by sports officials differed from the realities of national populations, differed from the narratives distilled among the working-class readers of the popular sports press. Popular sports media concerned itself much more with differentiating Argentina from its neighbors than by supporting soccer diplomacy. Racial discourse proved a particularly attractive way of self-definition because it attracted a greater readership through its polemics while simultaneously affirming a vision of Argentine racial identity that flattered its readers.

In Argentina, the historical specifics of the *macaquitos* affair have long since been forgotten, but, as described, the anti-Brazil campaign re-launched the image of the Brazilian *macaco* in the twentieth century, now in the popular sphere of sports. It has never vanished from the arsenal of commonly deployed xenophobic insults centered on the Argentine soccer field. Insults aimed at opponents will forever be part of sports in general, but the racial valence of many of the Argentine insults—recently highlighted by the Argentine anti-discrimination entity INADI—is linked to a broader belief in the whiteness of Argentina vis-à-vis its neighbors.<sup>126</sup>

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<sup>126</sup> The National Institute Against Discrimination, Xenophobia, and Racism (INADI, taken from the original Spanish name of the organization) was founded in 1995. It serves to craft and sponsor anti-discrimination legislation, to process and investigate accusations of discrimination, to support victims, and to provide outreach. One of its major branches is the *Observatorio de la Discriminación en Fútbol*, which brings national attention to acts of sexist, xenophobic, or racist behavior in the realm of professional soccer. For overviews of INADI concerns in the realm of soccer, see “Buenas prácticas en la comunicación pública: la discriminación en el fútbol,” *INADI: Informes Fútbol*, April 2013. Available at <http://inadi.gob.ar/wp-content/uploads/2013/04/Buenas-Pr%C3%A1cticas-F%C3%BAtbol.pdf>.

The majority of this chapter has outlined attempts to contrast, implicitly, Argentine whiteness with Brazilian blackness. The specific ideologies and languages used to explicitly affirm Argentine whiteness—only hinted at in this chapter—will be the subject of chapter five, “White Mestizaje: Argentina, Uruguay, and the Construction of the *Raza Rioplatense* in the Soccer World, 1924-1930.” We will see, Argentina’s immigrant influx combined with the prevailing transatlantic racial ideologies of the day to promote a notion of shared, white Argentine-Uruguayan race. The success on an international scale of Uruguayan and Argentine teams seemed to bolster this claim, and the sports pages provided a prominent forum for disseminating the vision of Argentina as a wholly European-descended country.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### WHITE MESTIZAJE: EUROCENTRISM AND THE CREATION OF THE RAZA RIOPLATENSE IN THE ARGENTINE SOCCER PRESS

On June 14, 1928, a prominently placed announcement appeared on page five of noted Buenos Aires daily *La Nación*. Advertising a brand of *yerba mate*,<sup>1</sup> it proclaimed:

Brothers in Glory! The triumph of a race. Argentines and Uruguayans, having defeated in manly sport all the national teams they have faced, have made eloquently manifest the potentiality of the strong, sober, intelligent Rioplatine race.<sup>2</sup>

The ad was published the day before the Argentine and Uruguayan national soccer teams were to play each other as part of the 1928 Olympic Games, held in Amsterdam. Having defeated between them such world powers as Italy, Yugoslavia, Holland, and the United States, the Argentine and Uruguayan squads had earned the right to face off in the gold medal match.<sup>3</sup> Matching the enthusiasm of the ad reproduced above, an ebullient Argentine press saw the moment as transcendent. In the previous Olympic tournament—the 1924 games held in France—Uruguay had been the first and sole Latin American

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<sup>1</sup>A local tea popular in Argentina and other countries in the Southern Cone.

<sup>2</sup>*La Nación*, June 14, 1928, p. 5. The argument of the advertisement, it seems, was that a shared culture of *mate*-drinking, for which the Ñanduty company claimed some responsibility, nourished the Argentine and Uruguayan national soccer teams in their quest for the world championships: “Ñanduty contributed powerfully to cementing that extraordinary vitality and [physical] resistance demonstrated by the Argentine soccer players in Amsterdam. Ñanduty, *the most expensive of the yerbas*, has done its part and demonstrated, once again, its great nourishing and fortifying properties.”

<sup>3</sup>The match in question was actually the second of two gold-medal matches between Uruguay and Argentina. The first had ended in a draw. In a competitive era in which extra time and penalty shoot-outs did not yet exist, a draw in an elimination match necessitated a rematch.

team to send a soccer delegation to the competition. The Uruguayans had won the 1924 Olympic gold medal with ease, and now, four years later, having dispatched its first soccer delegation to the Olympic Games, the Argentine national team found itself matched up against its Uruguayan counterpart in the gold medal match.

The match stirred up exceptional expressions of nationalistic sentiment in Argentina, especially in the widely-circulated popular *porteño* press. In a significant amount of this commentary observers asserted that these soccer triumphs were due to, and representative of, racial traits unique to inhabitants of the Río de la Plata region. Like the makers of Ñanduty *mate*, these writers interpreted the preeminence of Uruguayan and Argentine soccer players as a product of a superlative, transnational racial identity, Argentine sports journalists gave themselves over to frank celebration of this newly-defined “Rioplatine race.”

In the third and fourth chapters of this dissertation, I have discussed efforts by prominent sectors of the Argentines sports press to exclude non-whiteness from formulations of Argentine racial identity. In the former I demonstrated how *porteño* commentators used soccer to exclude indigenous and mestizo populations from formulations of national identity. In the latter, I documented how Argentine sportswriters contrasted Argentina and Brazil in order to emphasize Argentine whiteness. Both of those formulations were negative in the purest sense: in their characterizations of Brazilians and Northwestern Argentines they presented examples of what Argentines were *not*. In contrast, here in chapter five I will focus on an affirmative racial construction that I term *white mestizaje*. Many prominent members of the sports press and the political and intellectual community transmitted the idea that racially speaking Argentines were the

cumulative result of a mixture of different races, similar to the melting pot ideology in the United States. Known in Argentine as *crisol de razas*, this ideology identified the Argentine population as heterogeneous—but heterogeneously European. This notion of a “Rioplatine race” presented Argentines as a Euro-descended on a continent where descendants of Africans, *mestizos*, indigenous peoples, and mulattos were seen as racially predominant. These formative, enduring affirmations of Argentine collective racial identity were articulated in a way that emphasized its constituent European traits and rejected the possible intervention of any non-European racial elements.

As with this dissertation as a whole, this chapter interrogates matters of race—and the Rioplatine race in particular—because politicians, sports writers, and soccer officials often cited it as the central reason for Argentina’s success against foreign opponents.<sup>4</sup> The accomplishments of the Argentine and Uruguayan national teams allowed the Argentine sports press to produce a triumphant consensus on the characteristics of the Argentine racial type, in which European immigration had produced a highly successful, indeed, superlative mixture in the Río de la Plata—the *raza rioplatense*. Initially articulated by prominent Argentine intellectuals like Octavio Bunge and José Ingenieros, this Argentine “race” was considered superior to European and other Latin American populations in two respects: 1) it was a new fusion of blood, differentiating it from old Europe, and 2) its constituent elements were defined as wholly European, setting it apart from its Latin American neighbors with the exception of Uruguay.

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<sup>4</sup>A number of Argentine scholars, such as Eduardo Archetti and Pablo Alabarces, have highlighted the references in the Argentine press to playing style as the key element in Argentines’ soccer superiority. This chapter will argue that many of the attributes presented as evidence of styles of play derived from discussions of race or used heavily racialized terminology.

Racial pride based on *newness* of blood emerged as part of the increasingly prestigious *mestizaje* ideology, made famous in the 1920s throughout Latin America by the Mexican thinker José Vasconcelos. *Mestizaje* ideology reinterpreted interracial mixture as a biologically and culturally progressive phenomenon. Intellectuals in Cuba, Brazil, and Mexico used this intellectual movement to recast heterogeneous national populations as homogenous (newly, and homogenously, mixed), and as benefiting from the best qualities of their constituent parts. By “decoupling racial mixture from racial degeneration,” as Thomas C. Holt has written, *mestizaje* ideology offered a “positive inflection” on interracial mixture.<sup>5</sup> By the mid-twentieth century *mestizaje* ideology had positioned itself as the nationalistic antidote to the Eurocentrism that had theretofore dominated transatlantic thought and science, wherein racial inferiority had been considered the root of Latin America’s political and economic malaise.

Many Argentine intellectuals, too, indeed embraced elements of *mestizaje* discourse, agreeing that what made the “Argentine race” strong was the fact that it was a New World admixture. In this manner they differentiated the Argentine population from the perceived racial decadence of Europe. However, while Argentine sports writers, pundits, and politicians posited a racial identity that was animated by the tropes and forms of *mestizaje* ideology, their formulations nonetheless emphasized the essential whiteness of the Argentine race’s individual components. The interplay between these two ideological strains—*mestizaje* and white nationalism—enabled the millions of European immigrants that arrived in central Argentina during the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries to be seen as favorable to Argentina’s racial makeup, yet still superior to

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<sup>5</sup>Thomas C. Holt, forward to *Race and Nation in Modern Latin America*, ed. Nancy P. Appelbaum, Anne S. Macpherson, and Karin Alejandra Rosemblatt (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), xi.

Europe by merit of racial mixture. In this way white-mestizaje ideology set Argentina apart not just from other Latin American countries, but also from European countries as well.

The first section of this chapter synthesizes information about Argentina's competitive soccer history against teams from other Latin American and European countries during the 1910s and 1920s. This account, drawn from an exhaustive review of primary sources, will present a clear picture of the competitive results that formed the compelling basis for claims of racial and national superiority. The second section explores the historical relationship between Argentina and Uruguay, particularly in the realm of sports, which allowed Argentines to view Uruguayan sports triumphs as shared, transnational Rioplatine triumphs. Ultimately, the *raza rioplatense* was a transnational construct, and sports triumphs gave Argentines and Uruguayans proof of their ascendancy in the interwar transatlantic world. In the third and fourth sections I trace the fruitful reconciliation of Latin American *mestizaje* ideology with Argentine efforts to preserve a sense of Eurocentricity. And finally, the fifth and final section of this chapter explores the origins and fullest expressions of white mestizaje ideology in the formulation of the *raza rioplatense*. Affirmations of a Euro-descended Rioplatine race reached a jubilant crescendo during the most important sports events of the 1920s: the 1924, 1928, and 1930 world soccer championships. Countless middle- and working-class Argentine readers would encounter these formulations of nationalism produced at the peak of Argentine sports media circulation in the early twentieth century. These tropes of Argentine whiteness were reproduced and disseminated for a mass audience on an unprecedented scale.



## **Soccer and the Discourse of National Supremacy**

Soccer competitions provided the ideal opportunity for pundits, intellectuals, and politicians to articulate a vision of Argentine-ness which—while contested and far from uniform—was intended to set Argentina apart as a superior nation. This vision encouraged Argentines to interpret on-field action as reflective of national potentiality, and the actors as prototypes of the national race. Soccer became a harbinger of national destiny. With the fate of the country thus contingent on the outcome of a 90-minute sports event, competitive results took on a transcendent importance. In the case of 1920s Argentina, when the results tended to be outstanding, the on-field outcome directly shaped the discourse of superiority, racial and otherwise. The competitive, global culture of early twentieth-century soccer made some countries into winners and others into losers.

During the first decades of the twentieth century Argentina established itself as a winner, first against South American rivals, and then against Europeans. From the earliest years of the 1900s, matches against opponents from neighboring South American countries suggested greatness: Argentina savored victory more often than not. But success against European teams during this 1905-1912 period was quite another matter. English teams touring Argentina between 1905 and 1912 seemed to confirm the logic of neocolonial-era international hierarchies, soundly trouncing their Argentine opponents. Events in 1914, however, augured change even regarding tough European opposition. That year, for the first time, an all-Argentine team defeated the touring English team Exeter City, winning one out of the eight matches played. That same year an Argentine

all-star team beat the prestigious Italian club, Torino, in two of three matches played.<sup>6</sup> That the Argentines could defeat Italians seemed to confirm Argentina's stature in the larger world: logically, Italy—provider of so many emigrants to Argentina—would fall to the new power rising in the South Atlantic. And while soccer supremacy over England, for the time being, was too much to ask, the victory over Exeter City portended the flowering of Argentine soccer power sure to follow.

Indeed, these events of 1914 provided only a taste of what was to come. In the early 1920s, the Great War come and gone, teams from across Europe began venturing to the Río de la Plata at an unprecedented rate. The 1922 arrival of a team of Basque all-stars<sup>7</sup> ushered in a concentrated era of European tours to Argentina that would last until 1929. When the Basques concluded their tour of Argentina with a losing record, their surprise was matched only by the disappointment of the Argentine sports press in the mediocrity of their Iberian opponents. *These* were the Europeans that had won 41 out of 47 matches on Argentine soil between 1904 and 1914? Later that year a combined Austro-Hungarian team would impress, but were forced to divide spoils with their

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<sup>6</sup>During these same years, for the first time in the history of Argentine soccer, a non-Anglo soccer team became champion of the top Buenos Aires soccer league. In all previous years since the organization of the league, teams made up of British or British-descended players had won the annual Buenos Aires league competition. Racing de Avellaneda's 1913 championship victory, obtained by a team made up of Spanish- and Italian-descended players, cemented itself not only as the first great "native" Argentine club team—it signaled that non-Anglo Argentine players had finally caught up with the British "teachers" of the game. Eduardo Archetti highlights Racing's championship season as key in the development of an Argentine style of play, as well as a central event in the mythology of Argentine soccer that would take shape in subsequent decades. See Eduardo Archetti, "Estilo y virtudes masculinas en *El Gráfico*: la creación del imaginario del fútbol argentino," *Desarrollo Económico – Revista de Ciencias Sociales* [Argentina] 35, no. 139 (1995), 429.

<sup>7</sup>The Basque team, known officially as the Federación Guipuzcoana combined team, consisted of 19 players drawn from the top Basque teams of the period, including Real Sociedad, Athletic Bilbao, and Real Unión de Irún. As the Basque region had become a stronghold of Spanish soccer during the early twentieth century, the Federación Guipuzcoana team included several players from Spain's silver medal-winning national team from the 1920 Olympics: Mariano Arrate, Juan Artola, José María Belausteguigoitia ("Belauste"), Augustín Eizaguirre, and Ramón Eguiazábal.

Argentine hosts. By 1924, with five foreign teams come and gone—Spaniards, Austrians, Scots, Italians, and English—it had become clear that Argentine soccer could hold its own with respectable European teams.<sup>8</sup>

In 1924 Uruguay stunned the European soccer world by winning the 1924 men's soccer competition at the Olympic Games in France, the world championship for the sport in the decades prior to the creation of the World Cup. So convincing was the Uruguayans' victory and so scintillating their style of play that it marked the Río de la Plata in the European sports consciousness as a global center of soccer. Splendid performances by Argentina and Uruguay in the 1928 Olympic Games and the 1930 World Cup confirmed the success of 1924. And when the Argentine national team defeated the Uruguayan world champions just months after the 1924 Olympic victory, it allowed Argentina to stake a claim to soccer supremacy as well.

The raised international profile of Rioplatine soccer meant that more Europeans embarked on tours of the region to try their luck against the South Americans. The period spanning 1924-1929 brought seven top-rate Spanish, Italian, and Hungarian teams from across the Atlantic, in addition to two British teams. Of all these visitors, only Motherwell of Scotland and Ferencváros of Hungary returned to Europe with winning records.<sup>9</sup> The Argentines particularly impressed against the biggest Spanish and Italian clubs. Real Madrid and Barcelona—the latter Spanish league champions—managed only two victories between them out of five and six matches played, respectively. In

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<sup>8</sup> See Appendix B, numbers 1 and 4, for a complete account of European teams' activities in the Río de la Plata during this period.

<sup>9</sup> In the years following their visit, of all European teams to tour Argentina Ferencváros of Hungary was most admired by Argentine observers. Motherwell had won five of nine matches during the tour, but only after four resounding defeats, and only against weakened teams for the most part.

Argentina Real Madrid was outscored 4 to 10 and Barcelona 4 to 13. The Italian teams Torino and Bologna, who visited back to back in August and September of 1929, were at that moment the reigning national champions and runners-up, respectively, of Italy. They fared even worse, losing a combined ten out of fifteen matches. Bologna returned to Italy winless.

Of even greater consequence than defeating Europe on South American soil was duplicating the feat on European soil. Uruguay's 1924 national team savored this when it overcame Yugoslavia, France, Holland, and Switzerland—plus the United States—during the Paris Olympics. Nearly as satisfying—and little remembered today—was the team's whirlwind tour of Spain in the weeks prior to the Games. The previously unknown Uruguayans swept through Spain, playing many of the top Spanish clubs and emerging each game the victors. The tour seemed to actualize the eclipsing of Spain by its small but wealthier former colony.

Argentines hungered for this same glory, and their earlier-mentioned victory over that same 1924 Uruguayan team shortly after its return to Montevideo suggested like greatness. In 1925 it fell to the powerful Buenos Aires club Boca Juniors to carry that mantle to Europe. In the intervening years between the Basques' arrival in South America in 1922 and Boca Juniors' departure to Europe in early 1925, Argentine confidence in its soccer prowess had reached near-hysterical heights. Encouraged by domestic performances against the likes of Genoa and Plymouth Argyle, and by Uruguay's 1924 world championship, no one doubted that Boca would ultimately dazzle Europe with its play. Indeed, Boca's four-month European sojourn in 1925 ended overwhelmingly in their favor. The *boquenses* passed through Spain, Germany, and a bit

of France, startling with their play and ratifying, in the wake of the Uruguayan feat a year earlier, that a larger soccer movement was underway in the Río de la Plata.<sup>10</sup>

Just as triumph over teams from Spain, Italy, and England fueled the growing sense of trans-Atlantic Rioplatine superiority, victory over South American neighbors made Argentines feel a nation apart in a South American context. This chapter will deal separately with the deep history of Argentina's hotly-contested rivalry with Uruguay. But in addition to matches with Uruguayans, in the early twentieth century Argentine teams also began playing exhibition games and cups against clubs and national teams from neighboring South American nations. Teams of British expatriates from both Argentina and Brazil began competing against each other in 1908, with the Anglo-Argentines the overwhelming victors.<sup>11</sup> In the Brazilian national teams of the post-1914 period, however, the Argentines encountered more formidable opponents. Even so, the Argentines were more often than not on the winning side.<sup>12</sup> International club matches were decided even more emphatically in Argentina's favor. São Paulo giants Palestra Itália returned to Brazil winless after a short 1925 tour of Río de la Plata, and Rio de Janeiro champions América fared almost as poorly in 1929. The sense of soccer

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<sup>10</sup>Emboldened by Boca's 1925 tour, several second-tier porteño teams would venture to Europe in the late 1920s and early 1930s. Sportivo Barracas (1929) and Gimnasia de la Plata (1930-1931) encountered more mixed results than did Boca Juniors. Still, even these teams piled up their share of wins against the top clubs of Spain, Italy, and Portugal. Taken together with the excellent showings by the Argentine national team in the 1928 and 1930 world championships, these successful, highly-publicized tours to Europe provided the basis for the affirmations of national superiority that bloomed in their wake.

<sup>11</sup>Over two tours of Brazil in 1908 and 1912, the (Anglo-) Argentines won 14 of 16 games and outscored their Brazilian counterparts 65 to 17.

<sup>12</sup>In games disputed among national teams from 1914 to 1929, Brazil defeated the Argentines to win two Copa Rocas (1914 and 1922) and two Campeonato Sudamericanos (1919, 1922), both played in Brazil. The Argentines won one Copa Roca (1923) and two Campeonato Sudamericanos (1921 and 1925, both played in Argentina), but also defeated Brazil in other editions of the Campeonato Sudamericano in which neither team was eventual champion: 1917, 1920, 1923.

superiority over Brazil was most ratified, however, after a 1926 tour to Brazil of an all-star team made up solely of players from the Argentine provinces—in this case, players from neither Buenos Aires nor Rosario, considered the centers of Argentine soccer. The *provincianos* won all their games, two of them in matches against São Paulo's best. The string of successes against teams from a much larger, more populated country, confirmed for many the strength of the Argentine racial type and the irresistibility of its style of play.

The 1912-1934 period also bore witness to first-ever matches between Argentine and Chilean (1910), Paraguayan (1919), Peruvian (1926), and Bolivian (1927) teams. Against Argentine teams, for reasons which shall be discussed shortly, the best teams from these countries' clubs, national, or all-star teams found themselves, almost without exception, on the wrong end of a trouncing. From the Argentine perspective, defeating Europe provided prestige and a sense of superiority over former mother countries, but beating a Chilean or Brazilian team—not to mention an Uruguayan one—afforded perhaps more honor. Many European teams touring Argentina would schedule matches in Uruguay or, occasionally, Brazil.<sup>13</sup> These European teams most often met with the same difficulties as in Argentina, sometimes losing in spectacular fashion, as was the case with Motherwell during a stop in Rio de Janeiro on the return trip to Scotland. On the European stage, the São Paulo powerhouse Paulistano embarked in 1925 on a two-month tour of Switzerland, France, and Portugal. Their favorable performance against the French, Swiss, and Portuguese only reinforced the sense of confidence in South American soccer. The popular Chilean club Colo Colo also toured Europe, Mexico, and

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<sup>13</sup>Motherwell (1928), Bologna (1929), and Ferencvaros (1929) played notable games in Brazil either before or after touring the Río de la Plata. Brazilian teams won each match.

the Caribbean in the 1920s, turning in a far more respectable showing than any Argentine journalists had expected.<sup>14</sup> For many Argentines the demonstrable supremacy of South American soccer thus reinforced the sense that the annual Campeonato Sudamericano was less a tournament of limited, regional significance than a competition featuring the best national teams in the world.

Various factors can account for the strong Argentine—and Uruguayan—international record between 1914 and 1934. The Argentine economy, even while not flourishing at the unparalleled levels of 1880-1914, played the single most important role in the rapid and early development of Argentine soccer. The spectacular returns on the exportation of wheat and beef had since the mid-1800s drawn a large British business community, many of whom settled permanently in the country.<sup>15</sup> As detailed in chapter one, these Anglo-Argentines introduced soccer into the country as early as anywhere else in the Atlantic world, and oversaw its institutionalization in the 1890-1914 timespan. Of crucial importance was the role of the Anglo-Argentines in arranging visits from English professional teams between 1900 and 1914. Major English clubs like Southampton (1904), Nottingham Forest (1905), Everton (1909), and Tottenham (1909) easily dominated local teams, but provided intimate access to new playing strategies from Europe. Decades later the Argentine sports press, even after the emergence of a wholly Argentine playing style in the post-1914 period, seldom neglected to credit Argentine success to these early lessons.

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<sup>14</sup>Ibid.

<sup>15</sup>Andrew Graham Yooll, *The Forgotten Colony: A History of the English-Speaking Communities in Argentina* (Buenos Aires: LOLA, 1999), 2-5.

The vast majority of foreign teams to tour South America never ventured beyond the Río de la Plata. The logic was simple: go where the paying public was the biggest and where sponsors paid most handsomely. Those European teams that did play matches in Brazil, such as Bologna (1929) and Motherwell (1928), did so chiefly because transatlantic ships obligatorily stopped along the Brazilian coast between Río de la Plata and European ports. As for Chile, Paraguay, Peru, and Bolivia—the other South American nations interested enough in soccer to affiliate with the Confederación Sudamericana de Football during this period—Argentines and Uruguayans eagerly assumed the responsibility to offer these countries a soccer education themselves. Touring other parts of South America<sup>16</sup> allowed Rioplatine countries to play the role of regional masters, irradiating expertise in matters of sport—with all its economic, cultural, and racial implications—from the Río de la Plata out to the rest of South America.<sup>17</sup> Because Argentina and Uruguay enjoyed the bulk of visiting European teams, they assimilated with equal exclusivity the varying techniques of British, Czech, Hungarian, Spanish, and Italian players. Just as often as they ingested the tactics of their European guests—drawn out in lengthy, esoteric articles sometimes co-authored by visiting officials—Argentines

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<sup>16</sup>Argentine teams from border cities as well as from Buenos Aires toured Chile and Paraguay extensively between 1910 and 1929. As discussed in chapter one, much more extensive documentation exists for the touring records of porteño teams than provincial teams. Tours listed here use existing documentation to include both provincial and porteño teams (see Appendix B). Argentine teams toured Chile in 1910, 1913, 1921, 1923, 1925, and 1928. Tours to Paraguay took place in 1919, 1921, 1924, 1926, 1927, 1929, and 1931. Without counting the 1927 Campeonato Sudamericano held in Lima, Argentine teams toured Peru in 1930 and 1931, and Bolivia in 1930.

<sup>17</sup>This is not to say that other Latin American teams did not visit Argentina on competitive tours. Paraguayan teams visited Argentina—both in the provinces and in Buenos Aires—in 1922, 1926, and 1930. Chilean teams rarely visited Argentina, with Colo-Colo's disastrous 1927 match against Boca Juniors (1-6) an exception. A Peruvian team, for its part, embarked on an extensive and ambitious tour of Argentina in 1926, visiting Buenos Aires, La Plata, Santa Fe, Tucumán, and Salta. See Appendix B for more details.



and Uruguayans were able to congratulate themselves on the stylishness and effectiveness of their own homegrown playing styles.

With the conclusion of the 1914-1934 period—and the 1922-1929 rush of European tours in particular—Argentina would never again enjoy such sustained contact with European soccer. And as Argentina's economy slowly retracted in subsequent decades, tours to Europe became the rule, while European visitors became rare. The agglutination of interactions with some of Europe's best teams during the 1920s no doubt benefited the early development of Argentine soccer, particularly vis-à-vis its rivals.

Discourses of national greatness flourished in the Argentine sports press during these years of feverish intercontinental exchange, considered for generations afterward the golden era of Argentine soccer. Victories against top European opposition held a significance far transcending the anecdotal or statistical. Such triumphs could only be understood as indicative of a nation destined for greater greatness, as evidence of greatness already underway. This rhetoric reached an early peak in 1924, during Uruguay's triumphant campaign at the Olympics held in Paris.<sup>18</sup> A second and even greater zenith occurred during the 1928 Olympic Games, during which the Uruguayan and Argentine teams swept aside national teams from the likes of the United States, Belgium, the Netherlands, Germany, Egypt, and Italy on their way to the final match. During these culminating moments, Argentine and Uruguayan cultural, economic, and racial identity became blurred into one, principally by Argentine observers. With this in

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<sup>18</sup> Argentine sports nationalism also exploded during the 1922-1923 period with the international triumph of boxer Luis Angel Firpo. While not related to soccer, Firpo's victories—culminating in a narrow loss to Jack Dempsey during the world championship bout in 1923—fanned high the flames of Argentine pride. Eduardo Archetti examined the cultural resonations of Firpo's success in "Boxeo: los puños de la nación," in *El potrero, la pista y el ring: Las patrias del deporte argentino* (Buenos Aires: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2001), 97-119.

mind, the evidence presented here will include numerous references to Uruguayan victories, always recast by Argentine observers as *rioplatense* victories. Furthermore, as we shall see, these “shared” victories seemed to help elevate Argentina to its rightful place at the head of Western civilization.

### **Shared National Aspirations in the Río de la Plata**

In most ways the Argentine soccer experience of the early twentieth century can be described as shared with Uruguay. The competitive history of Argentine soccer, the development of a defined playing style, and the emergence of a popular sports press—as well as the specific discourses articulated therein to interpret and celebrate success—all took shape as part of a larger transnational process. Since the dawn of the twentieth century, national teams and clubs from both sides of the Río de la Plata estuary had played each other several times yearly. Soccer officials from both countries arranged innumerable competitions and exhibition matches. In addition, from 1916 onward, these countries’ top players faced off almost annually in the Campeonato Sudamericano tournament. The same European teams touring Argentina often stopped in Uruguay, meeting with similar results—typically a loss. *Montevideano* and porteño clubs each belonged to different organized leagues, to be sure, but constant inter-league play blurred institutional lines. The successful initiative to form a combined Argentine-Uruguayan team to play against Motherwell in 1928 seemed to recognize the transnational valence of the Rioplatine soccer world.

The Argentine popular sports press of the early twentieth century, whose origins I detailed in chapter one, can in many ways be described as Rioplatine rather than

Argentine. A close look at the two most influential Argentine sports publications of the period reveals intimate connections to Uruguay. The Vigil family—Uruguayans—ran the continent’s leading sports magazine, *El Gráfico*, as part of Argentina’s largest media conglomerate.<sup>19</sup> Though headquartered in Buenos Aires, *El Gráfico* featured in-depth coverage of Uruguayan sports stars and devoted extensive reporting to Uruguay’s international successes throughout the decade—much to the consternation of more patriotic publications.<sup>20</sup> Another Uruguayan, noted media mogul Natalio Botana, owned *Crítica*. Two of the era’s most influential sportswriters—*El Gráfico*’s Borocotó and *Crítica*’s Antonio Palacio Zino—also claimed Uruguayan roots. The result was a wholly transnational approach to sporting events on the part of the Argentine media in both traditional and popular spheres.

In the face of such deeply shared institutional and media connections, Argentines were justified in propagating a Rioplatine—rather than *Argentine*—discourse of success. But the degree to which the normally nationalist Argentine sports media emphasized a transnational soccer heritage shared with Uruguay can be attributed, more than anything else, to an irrepressibly intense desire to ride Uruguayan coattails to international glory in the wake of that country’s 1924, 1928, and 1930 world championships. The crushing weight of the expectation of success, combined with Argentine soccer’s inability to reach

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<sup>19</sup>María Paula Bontempo, "La trayectoria de Constancio Cecilio Vigil antes de la fundación de Editorial Atlántida (1904-1918)." Unpublished article, 2007: 12.

<sup>20</sup>In the wake of Uruguay’s defeat of Argentina during the gold medal match of the 1928 world championship, *La Cancha* cheekily criticized the perceived Uruguay-centricity of *El Gráfico*. “One local magazine—the most popular one, known for its *graphics*—engages in a systematic and manipulative campaign in favor of anything related to Uruguayan sports...The magazine in question calls itself an Argentine magazine, intended for an Argentine audience, written by Argentine journalists...and the only true thing in all of this is that they depend on the support of our readers and our advertisers to keep up their praises of all things Uruguayan.” The editorial ended by suggesting that the magazine replace its tagline of “Argentine Sports Magazine” with “Uruguayan [*charrúa*] magazine edited in Buenos Aires.” “¡Den cara, Charrúas!” *La Cancha*, June 23, 1928, p.4

the celestial heights of Uruguayan success, made this decision an expedient one.

Although Argentine and Uruguayan teams most often shared the spoils when they did face off, Uruguay won when the stakes were highest. The Uruguayans secured the inaugural Campeonato Sudamericano in 1916 and held a competitive edge in that tournament throughout the period in question. Uruguay was the sole South American representative—and the eventual champion—in the 1924 Olympic Games, while internal bickering in Argentina’s sports institutions prevented Argentina from entering.<sup>21</sup>

Uruguay narrowly defeated Argentina in the hotly-contested finals of the 1928 and 1930 world championships. The Uruguayan national team also held competitive edges in the annual Newton and Lipton cups. Uruguayans even one-upped Boca Juniors’ magnificent three-month, three-country tour of Europe—Argentina’s greatest international soccer glory up to that point—when Uruguay’s most storied club, Nacional, toured *nine* European countries over *six* months with even better results.<sup>22</sup> Uruguay’s overshadowing of their fiercest rivals did in some moments lead to tension and even tragedy, as recounted in chapter three, but more often than not it simply forced Argentine observers to swallow nationalist ego and appropriate Uruguayan victories as partly their own. The well-founded sense that the competitive histories, the players, and the playing styles from both countries were co-forged and identical no doubt made such coattail-riding more palatable.

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<sup>21</sup>César Torres, “‘If Only We Had Had Our Argentine Team Here!’ Football and the 1924 Argentine Olympic Team,” *Journal of Sport History* 30, no. 1 (2003): 1-24.

<sup>22</sup>The Nacional tour eclipsed Boca’s accomplishments everywhere but in the Argentine press. See Appendix B, numbers 2 and 4, to compare the two tours.

The construction of a Rioplatine racial ideology occurred not only in the realm of sports. Separated by the Río de la Plata estuary, Argentina and Uruguayan have a history of economic, political, and cultural interconnectedness several centuries old.<sup>23</sup> During the colonial period the territories that today comprise Argentina and Uruguay belonged to the same Spanish viceroyalty. After independence, *porteño* statesmen battled with Portuguese, Brazilian, Uruguayan, and provincial Argentine forces for control of present-day Uruguay. The *República Oriental*, as Uruguay became known—denoting its special relationship to western-lying Argentina—achieved definitive independence in 1830 with the help of England, which worked to establish present-day Uruguay as a buffer state between Argentina and Brazil in order to facilitate smoother commercial relations in the area. Similar topographical and agricultural conditions have long made Uruguay's economic activities analogous to those of Argentina's Pampas region, based largely on the export of agricultural commodities such as hides, tallow, and, later, grain and refrigerated beef. Dependent on the same external and internal contingencies, then, the Argentine and Uruguayan economies grew increasingly akin. Both nations enjoyed the same financial booms and endured the same economic busts. Cultural similarities abound as well: a shared rural culture emphasizing cattle-raising and carnivorousness, and even a comparable spoken accent reinforce the sense of similitude between the two nations. And, crucially for those concerned with formulating Argentine racial ideology, Uruguay received masses of European immigration during the same period as did Argentina.

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<sup>23</sup>Carolina González Laurino, *La construcción de la identidad uruguaya* (Montevideo: Universidad Católica, 2001), 43. See also Nicolas Shumway, *The Invention of Argentina* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 49.

In justifying to their readership why and how certain Uruguayan achievements ought to be celebrated as Argentine, writers appealed repeatedly to this deeply shared history. Argentine congressman José Amuchastegui observed in a 1924 speech to the Argentine congress: “We and [the Uruguayans] are part of the same whole, tied together in brotherly bonds that shall never be destroyed, sons of the same mother . . . shaped by the same blood, forged by the same ideals, by the same sacrifices, by the same heroes, by the same glories.”<sup>24</sup> Other editorials in the era echoed this notion that Argentina and Uruguayan were “brothers in history and independence.”<sup>25</sup> A lengthy piece in *Última Hora* expanded these thoughts, reflecting nostalgically on the pre-independence political unity of the two countries:

Just as you could not have Basques and Catalanians—two provinces from the same nation—playing against each other [in the Olympic Games]...the Argentine-Uruguayan match strikes us as strange. Even if geopolitics successfully dismembered the Argentine state to create a new one . . . in reality we Argentines and Uruguayans are the same thing, with the same international and historical significance. That is why we so accurately refer to *Rioplatine* soccer, just as we speak of Rioplatine literature, theater, etc. . . . This is why, in honor of these essential, defining factors of the Rioplatine community, a combined national team should play in these world championships. For even though it is no longer politically feasible to make the Río de la Plata into a single nation, nothing can stop us from being one in spiritual activities, in sports—just like we were on [Argentine independence days] May 25, 1910 and July 9, 1916.<sup>26</sup>

Just as Rioplatine observers could point to a shared past, Argentina and Uruguay seemed assured of a shared and even more glorious future. Due in great part to the profitability of their agricultural export model, most Argentines and Uruguayans enjoyed

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<sup>24</sup>*La Nación*, June 11, 1924, p. 2.

<sup>25</sup>“22 hombres del Plata disputarán hoy el campeonato olímpico,” *La Argentina*, June 10, 1928, p. 12.

<sup>26</sup>“¿Argentinos . . . uruguayos? ¡Rioplataenses!” *Última Hora*, June 14, 1928, PP.

the highest standard of living in Latin America. Dizzily expanding economies did in fact play a crucial role in the early, rapid development of *fútbol rioplatense*, as discussed. And if these sports triumphs afforded these South American republics their first dose of international recognition, it simply portended many more glories to come. Argentina's first-place finish in the 1927 Campeonato Sudamericano would, the editors of *La Argentina* were convinced, show "other continents utterly wrapped up in themselves that here thrives a young, healthy, vigorous, intelligent youth, capable of eclipsing [Europe's] fading glory."<sup>27</sup> The United States was not exempt from similar criticism. "This great republic of the South, with its history and civilization, is called to occupy the position of 'pioneer' that the United States—whose time is coming to a close—presently occupies."<sup>28</sup> When the Argentine team defeated the U.S. team 11-2 in the early rounds of the 1928 world championship, this sentiment appeared powerfully illustrated.

These quotes evince the deep desire of Argentine writers not just to congratulate themselves on national accomplishments, but also to exact from Europe the admiration Argentines perceived as overdue. This yearned-for approbation was made keener by the suspicion that Europeans were entirely unaware of Argentina's existence—a particularly distressing notion for a nation intent on for global prominence. "In Europe they are ignorant of us—too ignorant," complained one editor.<sup>29</sup> Hugo Marini, the sports section director for *Crítica* who accompanied Boca Juniors on their 1925 European tour, confirmed the darkest of Argentine suspicions: "There is no information about our

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<sup>27</sup>"El triunfo de la juventud Argentina," *La Argentina*, November 28, 1927, PP.

<sup>28</sup>*Crítica*, May 10, 1928, p. 6.

<sup>29</sup>"Los alumnos de ayer, son los maestros de mañana," *La Cancha*, June 9, 1928, p.2.

country of any sort in any part of Europe.”<sup>30</sup> “It’s about time,” railed another writer, “that European countries get acquainted with this ‘South America,’ whose children conquer laurels of the fields of sport to the same degree that they export meat and grain.”<sup>31</sup> In juxtaposing Argentina’s sports plaudits with its well-known trade in meat and grain, the author of the editorial echoed fears that Europeans knew Argentina only for its natural resources.<sup>32</sup>

Even more vexing, though, than being known solely as a “producer of agricultural products,”<sup>33</sup> was the fear that Argentines and Uruguayans could be lumped together as just one of so many of the world’s faceless, non-white, barbarian masses. Expressions of these anxieties in print verged on the hysterical. “They think we’re worse than the Indians of Congo,” worried one writer.<sup>34</sup> Another fretted at European stereotypes of Argentines as “barbarians” in an article titled “We Are a Civilized Country—End of Story.” The notion that the Río de la Plata could be confused with Brazil, or that Argentines could be stereotyped by Europeans as part of “some big Indian tribe,”<sup>35</sup> particularly troubled the writer. Elsewhere, ironic references to Argentina as “Indochina” and “Indostan” injected anxieties with levity but only confirmed the desire to come

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<sup>30</sup>*Crítica*, June 6, 1928, p. 9.

<sup>31</sup>“Lo que se desprende del partido con los vascos,” *Crítica*, July 18, 1922, p. 8.

<sup>32</sup>Observers from the northern Argentine province of Tucumán made this same accusation of porteños, as documented in chapter five. As with the porteños vis-à-vis Europe, the provincial Argentines were aware of their colonialist economic relationship to the metropole, wary of the stereotypes that relationship could produce.

<sup>33</sup>“El pueblo los bendijo con su adiós y se satisface con el triunfo moral con que regresan,” *La Calle*, July 16, 1928, p. 10.

<sup>34</sup>“Y dale con los vascos,” *Crítica*, October 11, 1922, p. 9.

<sup>35</sup>“Somos un país civilizado y se acabó,” *Crítica*, September 21, 1928, p. 13.



across well in Europe by avoiding that most featured of caricatures of Latin Americans: the Indian.<sup>36</sup> “Congo” and “Indostan,” “Brazil” and “Indochina”—writers intended for these images to serve as hyperbole, to contrast comically with Argentina’s material and cultural reality. The racial implications were also clear: Indians and barbarians abounded in Latin America—but not in the Río de la Plata.

The animating dilemma of Argentine nationalism, then, was the struggle to impose its own vision of Argentine culture and race abroad. This meant challenging international stereotypes of Argentines as, in the best case, glorified cattle barons or, in the worst case, as barbaric Indians. Many Argentines viewed soccer and sports as a particularly effective tool for staking their claim as an ascendant nation co-equal with European nations. “Soccer is an advertising agent abroad” for national prowess, declared *El Gráfico*’s Uruguayan editor-in-chief Aníbal Vigil in 1923.<sup>37</sup> The example of Uruguay’s leap to international renown following their 1924 world championship proved particularly instructive. The Uruguayan triumph constituted the “best possible propaganda for any country, especially for new countries little-known in Europe.”<sup>38</sup> To prove this point, Aníbal Vigil, who had traveled to Europe with the Uruguayan team, described how “in France the Europeans have bought thousands of maps to find out how the hell to locate the tiny republic of the soccer artists.”<sup>39</sup> The Asociación Argentina de Football reflected in its yearbook that “in all likelihood there will never be any better

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<sup>36</sup>Chapter five of this dissertation discusses in further depth some efforts to contrast Argentines of indigenous descent—“Indians”—with those of European descent in the Argentine soccer world.

<sup>37</sup>“El football es un agente de propaganda en el extranjero,” *El Gráfico*, February 17, 1924, p. 4.

<sup>38</sup>*La Nación*, June 9, 1924, p. 3.

<sup>39</sup>“Le jour de gloire est arrive...” *El Gráfico*, July 12, 1924, p. 13.

opportunity for the name of . . . the Oriental Republic of Uruguay to be known worldwide” than in the world soccer championship.<sup>40</sup> As on other occasions, *Crítica* projected a mischievous sense of anti-imperialist satisfaction at Uruguay’s defeat of European powers.

Until just a short time ago, South American countries were considered nothing more than fantastical locations full of riches and barbarians, incapable of any European achievement. The Old World looked at us in this condescension, utterly unsuspecting that the day would come that we would be a serious competitor for their success. We have crashed their party with such energy and talent that it has put expressions of amazement and terror on the faces of the greatest nations. It is like a little brother who, one day, conscious of his strength, demands his rights of his older siblings, who perceive his very real existence with belated terror.<sup>41</sup>

A cartoonist illustrated the article by drawing on perceived stereotypes of Argentines, reversing them to show a massive gaucho stomping on caricatured Europeans.

The language used to characterize the Argentine-European relationship clearly established, a priori, Argentina’s subordinate status in matters of culture. Sportswriters thus took singular delight in the upending of this historically colonial relationship that Argentine soccer successes were seen to effect. The forcefulness and immediacy with

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<sup>40</sup>Asociación Argentina de Football, “Asuntos internacionales: Congreso Sudamericano de 1924,” *Memorias y Balance* (1924): 21. The subsequent shared success of 1928 and 1930 simply amplified the sense that if Argentines were to be known abroad, it would be due to soccer. “Argentine sports act as the spokesperson of our existence in the world,” affirmed one writer as Argentine advanced in the 1928 world championships. “We are known in the world because of our sports,” (see “El vigoroso, optimista y triunfante deporte argentino actúa en el mundo como portavoz de nuestra existencia de nación triunfante, optimista y vigorosa,” *Crítica*, May 10, 1928, p. 6). Other publications concurred. Boasted *La Calle*: “Now they know us in Europe and they know we are a young and strong nation, and that we can do more than just supply the world with agricultural products” (“El pueblo los bendijo con su adiós y se satisface con el triunfo moral con que regresan,” *La Calle*, July 16, 1928, p. 10). For *La Cancha*, the global spotlight that fell on Argentina revealed “before the amazed eyes of the world” an “almost unknown corner of South America” (“El partido del domingo,” *La Cancha*, June 16, 1928, p. 2).

<sup>41</sup>“La Argentina es el fantasma inesperado en las Olimpiadas de París,” *Crítica*, June 30, 1924, p. 7. Matthew Karush pointed to a similar statement published in *Crítica* during Boca Juniors’ 1925 tour of Europe. See “National Identity in the Sports Pages: Football and the Mass Media in 1920s Buenos Aires,” *The Americas* 60, no. 1 (2003): 25.

which these claims emerged following Argentina's first triumphs over Europeans in the 1914-1923 period indicates the zeal to cast off Europe's role as tutor, parent, or older sibling.<sup>42</sup> In truth, however, only after Boca Juniors' successful 1925 tour, the 1928-1930 world championships, and the 1926-1929 period of European tours to Argentina—during which, as reported, the Argentines acquitted themselves admirably—could writers make claims of equality with real conviction.<sup>43</sup>

Against the British in particular such claims reached an apogee. The visits of second- and third-tier English and Scottish teams like Third Lanark (1923), Plymouth Argyle (1924), Motherwell (1928), and Chelsea (1929) did not present Argentines with the opportunity to test themselves against Britain's best, but victories against British professionals provided incomparable sweetness. The 1928 Motherwell squad had done itself no favors, affronting Argentine sensibilities when, upon their arrival in Buenos Aires, they announced their intention to give soccer lessons to the inhabitants of South America. For the Argentines such a declaration, delivered as it was with utmost sincerity, could only have come from the British—inventors and colonizers of the game, self-assured of victory on purely on the basis of their nationality. When the Scottish team lost its first three matches against Argentine squads of varying quality—the top Argentine players had not yet returned from the 1928 Olympic championships in Amsterdam—the

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<sup>42</sup>See "Lo que fue el match de ayer," *Crítica*, June 11, 1923, p. 14; *Crítica*, June 22, 1923, p. 12; "Los genoveses siguen interesando," *Crítica*, August 23, 1923, p. 14.

<sup>43</sup>See, for instance, *El Gráfico*, July 18, 1925, p. 15 ("We have carried a new soccer school to Europe. We have been acclaimed as teachers, not as simple players striving to win a match."); *Crítica*, July 30, 1925, p. 15 ("[The Boca Juniors players] learned nothing in Spain or Germany"); "Cuando vuelvan serán verdaderos campeones," *La Argentina*, August 12, 1928, p. 11 ("We have the firm conviction that when, far from teaching us anything, the agreeable Catalans will return to their country as the second-best players in the world behind the Argentines, thanks to the knowledge they have acquired on our soccer fields"); and "Las dos últimas presentaciones de la caballería fascista del Torino," *La Cancha*, August 10, 1929, p. 9.

sports press reached new levels of elation. “The Scottish professionals, our guests, have nothing to teach Rioplatine players. Perhaps when they return home they’ll take back with them the lessons and abilities [acquired in Argentina],” published *La Argentina*.<sup>44</sup> “They came to teach us soccer. The only thing they have taught us is the art of losing,” scoffed the Tucumán daily *El Orden*.<sup>45</sup> Many other writers celebrated, as they did elsewhere, the inversion of the traditional teacher-student role that had typified colonialism and neocolonial imperialism.<sup>46</sup> A poem originally published in the Uruguayan daily *El Día*—later republished in the Argentine press due to the mention of Argentine players—typified the sheer confidence and exuberance that beating the British provoked in the Rioplatine soul:

Such naiveté, coming to give lessons  
In the Plata—a teacher emporium!  
Dazzling us with a Shakespeare  
Or a Lloyd George is understandable  
But attempting to impress us with  
[Motherwell players] is a fruitless exercise.  
Here, where the Petrones<sup>47</sup> were born!  
The Seoanes,<sup>48</sup> the Ceas,<sup>49</sup> the Omars<sup>50</sup>!  
Don’t delude yourselves.

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<sup>44</sup>“La segunda derrota del Motherwell,” *La Argentina*, May 18, 1928.

<sup>45</sup>“La segunda de serie,” *El Orden*, May 13, 1928.

<sup>46</sup>See, for example, “Se fue el Motherwell,” *La Argentina*, June 11, 1928, p. 12 (“Vinieron el calidad de maestros y vuelven amaestrados”); “¡CRIOLLOS LINDOS!” *La Argentina*, May 14, 1928, PP; “Por qué ganan los escoceses,” *La Cancha*, June 9, 1928, p. 7.

<sup>47</sup>Pedro Petrone, Uruguayan player for Nacional of Montevideo and at the poem’s writing two-time world champion with the Urugayan national team.

<sup>48</sup>Manuel Seoane, popular Argentine forward, played for Independiente de Avellaneda, and for the Argentine national team. Seoane also participated as a crucial reinforcement during Boca Juniors’ 1925 tour of Europe.

<sup>49</sup>Pedro Cea, Uruguayan forward, also played for Nacional and the Uruguayan national team throughout the 1920s.

<sup>50</sup>Pedro Omar, popular Argentine player for San Lorenzo de Almagro and the Argentine national team.

No more coming to give lessons.<sup>51</sup>

Britain's universally admired literary and political tradition—Shakespeare and Lloyd George are presented as exemplary figures—would not help it triumph over *rioplatenses* on the soccer field. In truth, few would draw serious equivalence between Pedro Petrone and Lloyd George. But the playful juxtaposition of Rioplatine soccer stars with British cultural luminaries showed not only that Argentines could claim some measure of revenge against European powers for the colonial past—"The civilizers have taken so much from us, we have to claim something from them!"<sup>52</sup>—but it also insinuated that producing Petrones, Seoanes, Ceas, and Omars was the first step toward the eventual emergence a Rioplatine Lloyd George

These 1920s victories against the British appeared rich with portent. Indeed, observers agreed that success on the international soccer stage intimated future success in other provinces like literature, art, or science. "Today they admire us for our efficiency at soccer. Tomorrow they will for our intellectual achievements, because muscle and brain are two corresponding expressions of the species."<sup>53</sup> Uruguay's Minister of Public Instruction, Enrique Rodríguez, affirmed that "it will not be long before Uruguayan artists can go Europe and return triumphant the same way today's sportsmen have done."<sup>54</sup> Assured *La Argentina*: "We are in the midst of the triumph of Rioplatine players, Argentine and Uruguayan soccer players, which comes first; afterward, it will be time for accomplishments of culture and of the spirit, and soon, perhaps, [time] for our

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<sup>51</sup>"Los maestros escoceses," *La Argentina*, May 22, 1928, p. 13.

<sup>52</sup>"¡¡Hoy llegan los muchachos!!" *La Calle*, July 16, 1928, PP, second section.

<sup>53</sup>"Uruguay campeón," *Crítica*, June 9, 1924, p. 2.

<sup>54</sup>*Crítica*, June 9, 1928, p. 4.

engineers and doctors, and our writers and poets.”<sup>55</sup> And for Virgilio Tedin Uriburu, president of the powerful Asociación Argentina de Football and a major figure in the porteño aristocracy, the Rioplatine victories only increased the region’s obligation to match sports laurels with achievements in the wider world: “Now is the time in which our duty grows—to reach, in the fields of science, industry, and work, the place in the world that the future holds for our civilization.”<sup>56</sup>

Argentine preeminence in the world of soccer—a statistical reality that became the driving force behind the nationalist surge in the sports pages—had its roots in several factors. Wealth and capital, as mentioned, played a key role, as did the large working class in search of accessible leisure activities. Many Argentine sportswriters, however, eschewed socio-economic explanations for their soccer success, preferring to attribute it to other factors.<sup>57</sup> Chief among these was race, as well as the athletic traits and playing characteristics seen as byproducts of racial capacity.

As described in the introduction to this chapter, this affirmation of Argentine racial superiority vis-à-vis other nations—and its use of soccer as evidence of that superiority—can be seen as part of a broader effort to emphasize its destiny as a regional and world power. Sports writers and other figures in the sports pages created a unique formulation of racial identity that was two-pronged. First, what made the Argentine race especially strong was the fact that it was a New World *mélange*, differentiating it

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<sup>55</sup>“Sud América, representada por los futbolistas rioplatenses, impone en Europa el prestigio de su raza, ágil, nueva y fuerte,” *La Argentina*, June 8, 1928, p. 3.

<sup>56</sup>Asociación Argentina de Football, “Discurso del doctor V. Tedín Uriburu,” *Memorias y Balance* (1924): 48.

<sup>57</sup>In fact, the opposite became true, as the notion of the poor urban neighborhoods became mythologized as the incubator for Argentine soccer skills, as shall be explored subsequently in this chapter.

specifically from Europeans. Influenced by intellectual trends culminating in the late 1920s, this discourse highlighted the superiority of the Argentine “race” over European “races” because it was a new fusion of blood. Second, and in perfect accordance with prevailing transatlantic thought, these writers agreed that mass immigration to Argentina from Europe privileged it over its Latin American neighbors.

### **The Emergence of White Mestizaje Ideology**

The notion of a racially superior Argentine nation based on its mixed European heritage has a history deeper than the sphere of sports. In his intellectual history *The Invention of Argentina* Nicolas Shumway traces the development of Argentine racial thought starting with figures considered to be Argentina’s founding statesmen, like Mariano Moreno and Bernardino Rivadavia. According to ideas put forth by these men and the men who succeeded them, only by “creating Europe in the Southern Cone,” as Shumway puts it, would Argentina be able to overcome the economic and socio-political obstacles for which its mixed race was assigned the blame.<sup>58</sup> During the latter half of the nineteenth century, other influential statesman-thinkers like Domingo Faustino Sarmiento and Juan Bautista Alberdi became conversant with European positivists like Herbert Spencer and August Comte, incorporating their theories about racial hierarchies into Argentine state-building projects.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>58</sup>Nicolas Shumway, *The Invention of Argentina* (Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 1991), 138-139.

<sup>59</sup>Ibid., 138-139. Exemplifying these intellectual trends is Sarmiento’s most famous publication, *Civilización y Barbarie: Vida de Juan Facundo Quiroga* (Mexico City: Editorial Porrúa, [1845] 1977). The following excerpt effectively encapsulates Sarmiento’s views on race in Argentina and Latin America: “A homogenous whole has resulted from the fusion of the races [in Argentina]. It is typified by love of idleness and incapacity for industry, except when education and the demands of a social position succeed in spurring it out of its customary crawl. To a great extent, this unfortunate outcome results from the

Between 1900 and 1930, however, some Argentine intellectuals, politicians, and newspaper writers began to resist the notion of Eurocentric racial superiority. This was part of a broader cultural movement<sup>60</sup> exemplified by the writings of José Enrique Rodó and Miguel Unamuno.<sup>61</sup> In books and newspaper articles they attempted to highlight the essential, “Hispanic” and “spiritual” characteristics seen as the core of Latin American societies. Focusing on art, philosophy, and religion, Rodó and Unamuno attempted to differentiate Latin America from the United States, which in the wake of its 1898-era neocolonialism was characterized as utilitarian and materialistic.<sup>62</sup> In the early 1920s José Vasconcelos, a prominent Mexican intellectual, utilized the extreme Hispanism of Rodó and Unamuno to develop a new approach intended to displace classical racial hierarchies. Using a mixture of cultural and biological idioms, Vasconcelos argued that Latin America benefited from, rather than was hindered by, its multiracial, multicultural heritage.<sup>63</sup> Under this view, *mestizaje* became a fundamental part of Latin American

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incorporation of the native tribes through the process of colonization. The American aborigines live in idleness, and show themselves incapable, even under compulsion, of hard and prolonged labor. From this came the idea of introducing Negroes into America, which has produced such fatal results” (*Civilización* 15).

<sup>60</sup>Richard Graham, *The Idea of Race in Latin America* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990), 2-3

<sup>61</sup>José Enrique Rodó, *Ariel*, ed. Belén Castro Morales (Madrid: Anaya & M. Muchnik, 1995). Miguel de Unamuno wrote about all of Spanish America, but was particularly active in Argentina. Compilations of his Argentine-specific writings include *Artículos en La Nación de Buenos Aires, 1919-1924*, ed. Luis Urrutia Salaverri (Salamanca, Spain: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 1994); *De patriotismo espiritual: artículos en La Nación de Buenos Aires, 1901-1914*, ed. Victor Ouimette (Salamanca, Spain: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 1997); and *Temas argentinos* (Buenos Aires: Ediciones El Elefante Blanco, 2002).

<sup>62</sup>Isidro Sepúlveda, *El sueño de la Madre Patria: Hispanoamericanismo y nacionalismo* (Madrid: Fundación Carolina; Centro de Estudios Hispánicos e Iberoamericanos; Marcial Pons Historia, 2005), 217-218.

<sup>63</sup>Marilyn Grace Miller, *Rise and Fall of the Cosmic Race: The Cult of Mestizaje in Latin America* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2004), 28.



character, allowing Latin American to feel that the hybridization of indigenous, African, and European races made them superior to Europeans, Africans, or indigenous peoples. As shall be discussed, some Argentine intellectual hastened to embrace aspects of this new racial valorization of Latin America: within this ideological framework, Argentina, too, could be seen as the culmination of a new race.<sup>64</sup> However, the Argentine sports press's appropriation of the concept of *mestizaje* proved quite distinct.

The Argentine sports pages synthesized the seemingly antithetical discourses of Eurocentric racial superiority and nationalistic *mestizaje* into a new expression of national racial identity. They simultaneously emphasized qualitative difference vis-à-vis Europe (and the United States) with a rhetoric clearly influenced by emerging *mestizaje* ideology.<sup>65</sup> However, the new Argentine race that was characterized in the sports pages as superior to North America and Europe was also subtly presented as superior to its Latin American neighbors' version of *mestizaje*. As documented in chapter three, some of Argentina's neighbors, whom members of the Argentine intelligentsia associated with non-European racial genealogies, were relegated to a lower place in this ranking. Argentina's supposed superiority was based on the view that, because millions of Europeans immigrated to Argentina during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the Argentine race could be viewed as a progressive mixture of purely European blood. This particular formulation of identity, widely disseminated on a popular level, was unmistakably exclusivist: the indigenous, mestizo, and African

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<sup>64</sup>Rafael Plá León, "La idea del mestizaje en representantes del positivismo en Argentina y México en el siglo XIX" in *Islas* 98 (January-April 1991), 137.

<sup>65</sup>The ideas of Vasconcelos were widely reported in the mainstream Argentine media. See, for instance, José Gabriel, "Vasconcelos, el amante de la Argentina," *Caras y caretas*, July 10, 1926, p. 14. Gabriel was also a leading sports writer for *Crítica*.

elements of the Argentine population were largely ignored in this construction of Argentine-ness. Ironically, the sports pages identified and extolled the specific characteristics of the new *raza argentina* employing an idiom that was classically Eurocentric.

### **European-ness as the Essence of Argentine Identity**

Throughout the 1910s and 1920s Argentines celebrated the modernizing role of the European immigrant in central Argentina. In the consensus view of the Argentine press and the Argentine government during these decades, the European immigrant had come to play an indispensable role in both the urban and the rural transformation of the Pampas region. This is not to ignore that the sheer magnitude of European immigration to Argentina provoked discord on a number of levels. Particularly in the 1880s and 1890s, the transformation of central Argentina from postcolonial backwater to a cosmopolitan, heavily populated, immigrant-inflected region left politicians and intellectuals scrambling to reformulate Argentine national identity in order to, alternately, accommodate new immigrants or to exalt pre-immigrant rural culture. As Lilia Ana Bertoni has documented, immigrants were generally met halfway: the Argentine state attempted to inculcate immigrants with a sense of local history and culture while praising the contributions of those immigrants to Argentine economic, political, cultural, and racial progress.<sup>66</sup> Despite notably extreme manifestations of anti-immigrant sentiment in

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<sup>66</sup>Lilia Ana Bertoni masterfully traces these socio-cultural debates in *Patriotas, cosmopolitas y nacionalistas: La construcción de la nacionalidad argentina a fines del siglo XIX* (Buenos Aires: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2001).

the late 1870s and again in the late 1910s,<sup>67</sup> by the early twentieth century immigrants were readily accepted—when not celebrated—as valuable contributors to the new, modern Argentina.

The excitement over the modernized, Euro-Argentina came to be expressed not just at a popular level—sports press and popular periodicals—but also by leading Argentine intellectuals. The work of José Ingenieros, for instance, contrasted Argentina with its Latin American neighbors, explaining its potential for material success in racial terms:

Chile is a highly militarized country, with ideals of domination and conquest, prodded by compelling territorial needs. . . Brazil, on the other hand, has two major and highly respectable advantages over Argentina: the extent of its territory and superiority in numbers. But Chile has neither territory nor fertility. Brazil lacks the proper climate and the proper race. Argentina possesses all four variables: a vast territory, a fertile soil, mild weather, and a white race. . . . Territorial extension, fecundity, a white population, and mild weather, all predestine Argentina to apposition of guardianship over the other nations of the continent.<sup>68</sup>

In a book entitled *Nuestra América (ensayo de psicología social)*, Carlos Octavio Bunge made a similar argument.<sup>69</sup> He asserted that the unique mixture of white races that

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<sup>67</sup>1872 bore witness to the so-called Massacre of Tandil, during which a group of xenophobes killed thirty-six immigrants in a small town in southern Buenos Aires Province. See John Lynch, *Massacre in the Pampas: Britain and Argentina in the Age of Migration* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998), 82-83. Anti-immigrant sentiment also peaked again during the *Semana Trágica*. Begun as a massive series of strikes by shipping workers, the tension culminated in the murder of a police official and attendant right-wing reprisals against the coalition of left-leaning protestors. Though the actions of the strikers and protestors were largely condemned, observers did so largely on the grounds of their political ideologies. When immigrants did enter the discussion, they did so on the—flawed—grounds that Jews and other Eastern Europeans had been the chief agitators of social discord. The benefits of immigration as a whole were not generally called into question in the wake of the *Semana Trágica*.

<sup>68</sup>Quoted in Marcelo Monserrat, “The Evolutionist Mentality in Argentina: An Ideology of Progress,” in *The Reception of Darwinism in the Iberian World: Spain, Spanish America, and Brazil*, eds. Thomas F. Glick and Miguel Angel Puig-Samper (Dordrecht, Germany; Boston: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2001), 23.

<sup>69</sup>Carlos Octavio Bunge, *Nuestra América (ensayo de psicología social)* (Buenos Aires: Vaccaro, 1918), 157-163. Bunge’s opus was first published in 1903 and was released in revised editions in 1918 and 1926. See also Zimmerman, 28-32.

constituted the new Argentine racial type was “as imaginative as the aborigine of the tropics and as practical as the dweller of the cold climates, one complex and complete type, which could appear to be the total man, the model of the modern man.”<sup>70</sup>

Even José Vasconcelos himself, one of Latin America’s pioneering theorists of *mestizaje*, nuanced his own writings in asserting that some geographical sites of *mestizaje* could be considered more “productive” than others. He concluded Argentina’s racial mixture to be unique and, above all else, productive, because it represented “the mixture of similar races, all of them of European origin.”<sup>71</sup> For these reasons Vasconcelos had come to see Argentina as “the first real success story in the history of Spanish civilization in the Americas...Argentina will be the guiding light in the Hispano-American night.”<sup>72</sup> He concluded: “It can be readily stated that the mixture of similar races is productive, while the mixture of very distant types, as in the case of Spaniards and American Indians, has questionable results.”<sup>73</sup> Vasconcelos’ enthusiasm for Argentine society and admiration for its “productive” *mestizaje* gave him the reputation of “Argentine-lover,” as one article in a popular Argentine magazine put it,<sup>74</sup> ensuring that his writings would be well received in Argentina in addition to other parts of Spanish America.

By the spectacular 1910 centennial celebration, Argentines had given themselves over to a proud acceptance of the new, immigrant-inflected Argentina. Despite the

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<sup>70</sup>Quoted in Aline Helg, “Race in Argentina and Cuba, 1880-1930” in *The Idea of Race in Latin America*, ed. Richard Graham (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990), 39-40.

<sup>71</sup>José Vasconcelos, *La raza cósmica; misión de la raza iberoamericana; notas de viajes a la América del Sur* (Mexico City and Buenos Aires: Espasa-Calpe, 1948), 5. See also Miller, 41.

<sup>72</sup>Vasconcelos, 209.

<sup>73</sup>Ibid, 5.

<sup>74</sup>See Gabriel, n. 66 above.

protestations and undeniable influence of Romantic<sup>75</sup> nationalists and *criollistas* like Ricardo Rojas, Manuel Gálvez, and Leopoldo Lugones, during these decades a tenuous consensus emerged that not only celebrated Argentina's Europeanized cosmopolitanism, but posited this cosmopolitanism as one of the defining characteristics of the country. Buenos Aires, capital of the Pampas, came to be seen by many as the most elevated expression of the new Argentina, and what a wholly Europeanized Argentina could bring about. Even the complaints about the capital's traffic and crime—ubiquitous in the literature of the time—served not as condemnations of modernization, but were cheerfully offered as indicators of Buenos Aires' transformation into an urbane and quintessential metropolis. At the heart of its appeal was precisely its Euro-cosmopolitanism. Following an extensive visit in 1922,<sup>76</sup> Vasconcelos felt moved to contrast Buenos Aires with other parts of Latin America. He observed that while “Mexico is Indian,” “Cuba is mulatto,” and “Chile is a mixture of Spanish and indigenous,” “only Buenos Aires is cosmopolitan.”<sup>77</sup>

While the central Pampas held the key to Argentina's prosperity—“the real Argentina is the Pampas; it is that vast and fertile champaign...to which she owes all her wealth and prosperity,” wrote one English observer<sup>78</sup>—its new European inhabitants were credited with bringing it to life. “This marvelous country of Argentina is destined

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<sup>75</sup>Jeane Delaney aligns the cultural nationalism of these thinkers with German Romanticists of the late nineteenth century and their search for national uniqueness as an antithesis to cosmopolitanism. See Jean Delaney, “Imagining ‘El Ser Argentino’: Cultural Nationalism and Romantic Concepts of Nationhood in Early Twentieth-Century Argentina,” *Journal of Latin American Studies* 24, no. 3 (1994), 625-58.

<sup>76</sup>Observations based on this visit form a significant portion of Vasconcelos' influential *Raza cósmica*.

<sup>77</sup>*Ibid*, 150.

<sup>78</sup>Hirst, 4.

to be one of the great nations of the world,” wrote the British historian and journalist Martin Sharp, owing to the fact that it had “attracted and assimilated a great admixture of the robust peoples of Europe.”<sup>79</sup> Alberto B. Martínez, a noted porteño public official charged with authoring the English-language Baedeker guide for tourists traveling to Argentina, provided a definitive guide to Argentina’s “ethnic composition” in the guide’s “Population” section. The Argentine race, Martínez wrote, constituted an “original type in which European blood has prevailed by superiority, regenerating itself through constant immigration.”<sup>80</sup> Martínez acknowledged the historical presence of indigenous and African “elements” in Argentine demography, but emphasized that by 1914, the guide’s 4<sup>th</sup> edition, the “basis of the population [had become] European.”<sup>81</sup> Martínez went on to briefly detail the unhappy fates of the indigenous populations (much reduced) and the African population (“almost entirely eliminated according to that inflexible biological law which condemns the inferior organisms”).<sup>82</sup> In so doing he reproduced the prevailing narrative of Argentine demographic history, then and now: utterly lacking in other populations, Argentina constituted a blank page upon which European civilization could begin anew.<sup>83</sup> Martínez concludes: “Happily for all, the

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<sup>79</sup>Martin Hume, introduction to *Argentina*, by William Alfred Hirst (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1912), xxvii. Sharp published under the name Martin Hume.

<sup>80</sup>Alberto B. Martínez, *Baedeker of the Argentina Republic*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed. (Barcelona: Baedeker, 1914), 56.

<sup>81</sup>*Ibid.*, 57.

<sup>82</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>83</sup>To this end, another 1920s observer wrote about Argentina: “There has never been in history such a country as this for blankness and emptiness and expanse; it has been possible for the inventive white man to use these lands like a sheet of new paper, writing the concepts of Europe upon the surface...not even the United States, the nearest parallel to Argentina in this respect, made such a clean sweep of the native population, nor had so virgin a surface to utilize.” See L.E. Elliott, *The Argentina of Today* (London: Hurst and Blackett, Paternoster House, 1926), 42.

ethnic composition of our population does not make us fear any complication between the races as is the case in certain countries, for instance the United States, and which is the cause of deep discord. Here we do not know anything about the Indian, Negro, or Chinese problems.”<sup>84</sup> Such a splendid prognosis, in accordance with the accepted racial hierarchies of the time, made Argentina’s future looked bright indeed. Superiority on the soccer field would seem to actualize these predictions.

### **Soccer, Youth, and the New Argentine Race**

To be sure, the growing belief in Argentine racial “productivity” was readily applied to the Uruguayan region, as has been documented by George Reid Andrews.<sup>85</sup> And as I have discussed here, Argentine-Uruguayan primacy in soccer led commentators to construct a transnational racial identity in order to account for that success. Writers highlighted the physical proximity of the two countries or order to identify their players as constituting the same “raza rioplatense.” “Just one strip of water separates us; the same clouds visit [both of us],” said one Argentine bank official during the 1928 Olympic tournament.<sup>86</sup> During the inaugural World Cup tournament held in Uruguay in 1930, the socialist daily *La Vanguardia*—normally adverse to patriotic rhapsody—was moved by Argentine and Uruguayan success to celebrate the two countries’ “psychological and

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<sup>84</sup>Ibid. In the same passage Martínez warns that should the “yellow race...knock at the door of the Republic. . . . this door would remain closed to them, for the Constitution imposes on the Government the duty of favoring white immigration against yellow.”

<sup>85</sup>George Reid Andrews, *Blackness in the White Nation* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 2-5.

<sup>86</sup>*Crítica*, June 6, 1928, p.4. The interview was with Jaime G. Corchs, president of the Argentine Banco Hipotecario.

ethnic unity” in a series of editorials.<sup>87</sup> The 1928 world championship between the two nations’ national teams, the paper’s staff proclaimed, would pit “twenty-two men who ethnically, geographically, and psychologically constitute a [single] unit, a unit universally recognized by the name *rioplatense*.”<sup>88</sup> Juan Pignier, one of the most powerful men in Argentine soccer, went a step further during those same 1928 Olympics: “Argentines and Uruguayans have the same characteristics in every sense. Physically, they belong to the same race, they live in countries with the same features, with the same climate. In sum, with respect to their organic constitutions, [the two nations share] more characteristics than Argentines [living in] different latitudes.”<sup>89</sup>

Pignier’s assertion went to the heart of the matter. It tidily wrapped up the idea that the *raza rioplatense* was centered the Pampas. The inhabitants of “different latitudes” obtusely referenced by Pignier included mixed-race and indigenous-descended Argentines in the Northwestern and Northeastern provinces like Santiago del Estero, Tucumán, Jujuy, Corrientes, or Chaco—provinces that had for various reasons received the smallest quantities of European immigrants during the 1870-1914 period.<sup>90</sup> Pignier’s declaration reflected the broader tendency, discussed in detail in chapter four, to exclude non-Pampas regions of Argentina from formulations of Argentine national identity. This

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<sup>87</sup>*La Vanguardia*, July 19, 1930, p. 6.

<sup>88</sup>*Ibid.*, July 31, 1930, p. 4.

<sup>89</sup>*Crítica*, June 11, 1928, p. 3. Pignier was vice president of the newly formed Asociación Argentina Amateurs de Football. In 1929 he would take over as president after the death of Adrián Beccar Varela.

<sup>90</sup>This is not to say that southern Argentina did not exist in the Argentine imaginary as a stronghold of the indigenous population. But by the 1910s and 1920s, most of southern Argentina’s indigenous communities were thought to be killed off during the border wars of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, or, at least, isolated from the rest of the population in reservation-style enclosures. Beginning in the 1910s and 1920s, northern Argentina began to be seen as the stronghold of non-whiteness within the Argentine national territory—a view that would only increase during the great internal migratory movements that began in the 1930s.



is not to say that the idea of a territorially expansive and varied nation-state—with all the products of export so crucial to Argentine wealth and pride during this period—held no attraction. But the soccer world was a realm in which the inhabitants of non-Pampas Argentina, and by extension perceived racial characteristics of their inhabitants, were seen as less Argentine than those of Uruguayans. In this way, Buenos Aires—and, often, the Pampas—came to stand in for “Argentine.” The richest, centrally located regions of the Río de la Plata—Buenos Aires, Rosario, La Plata, and Montevideo—were seen as ethnically cohesive. And their inherited biological traits, exteriorized through the practice of soccer, were exclusively European.

Evidence of the essential European-ness of this *raza rioplatense* could be found in the physical traits ascribed to Argentine and Uruguayan players. Descriptions reoccur throughout different sources. Appearance-wise, they are observed as “Mediterranean,<sup>91</sup> dark, and of medium height.”<sup>92</sup> Depictions of generic Argentine soccer players, ubiquitous throughout the sports pages, tended to confirm this version of Argentine physicality. These images offered to their reading audience idealizations of the

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<sup>91</sup>As part of the racial hierarchies widely accepted throughout the Atlantic World in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, “Mediterraneans” such as Italians and Spaniards were considered inferior to Anglo-Saxon and Aryan “races” of Northern Europe. In the United States, the destination for many Italian immigrants, this held true as well, on the basis that Southern Europeans were not considered fully white and civilized. While in Argentina immigrants from Southern Europe were sometimes rejected by nationalists on the basis that they did not fit into the Hispanic spiritual heritage, they were seldom reviled for not being European or for not being white. As emphasized repeatedly in the Argentine sports press, the crucial differentiation proved to be between Europeans and non-Europeans. Argentine newspapers made Spanish and Italian immigrants—“Mediterraneans”—into a celebrated, fundamental component of the *raza rioplatense*. See Donna Gabaccia, “Race, Nation, Hyphen: Italian-Americans and American Multiculturalism in Comparative Perspective,” in *Are Italians White? How Race is Made in America*, ed. Jennifer Guglielmo and Salvatore Salerno (New York & London: Routledge, 2003), 53-54; Thomas A. Guglielmo, *White on Arrival: Italians, Race, Color, and Power in Chicago, 1890-1945* (Cambridge: Oxford University Press, 2004), 59-60; Samuel Baily, *Immigrants in the Lands of Promise: Italians in Buenos Aires and New York City, 1870-1914* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1999), 87.

<sup>92</sup>*La Nación*, June 6, 1924, PP.

Argentine masculine physical type, as occurred in the prominent advertisement for Ñanduty-brand *yerba mate* quoted at the beginning of this chapter.<sup>93</sup> Acclaiming “the capability of the *raza rioplatense*” in the wake of the 1928 Olympics,<sup>94</sup> the drawing featured two men, presumably Argentine and Uruguayan,<sup>95</sup> celebrating the role *yerba mate* had played in their competitive performance. Stylistically, these archetypes of the *raza rioplatense* closely matched the physical profile of Argentines appearing in other cartoons: fair-skinned men with the dark hair, “of [the] medium height and build” described in *La Nación*. The Argentine soccer player, quintessence of masculinity and paragon of the Argentine working masses, was unquestionably rendered as white.<sup>96</sup>

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<sup>93</sup>See Figure 8.

<sup>94</sup>The advertisement and cartoon enthusiastically attributed Argentina and Uruguayan success in the 1928 Olympics to their *mate*-drinking habits. The full text read: “Brothers in glory! The triumph of a race. Argentines and Uruguayans, having defeated all the national teams they have faced in manly sport, have eloquently made manifest the capabilities of the strong, sober, intelligent Rioplatine race, nourished by *mate* from its most tender age. Ñanduty contributed crucially to cementing the extraordinary vitality and endurance that the Argentine soccer players demonstrated in Amsterdam. Ñanduty, the fanciest *yerba*, has played its part and demonstrated, once more, its great dietary and fortifying properties” (*La Nación*, June 14, 1928, p. 5).

<sup>95</sup>The advertisement itself is rich with symbolism and lends itself to more than one interpretation. The most complex element in the image is the young woman, rendered as indigenous through her braids, standing behind the Argentine and Uruguayan players with her arms resting on their shoulders. One could argue that her presence there affirms an indigenous component in the “Rioplatine race” referenced in the advertisement. I interpret her presence there as suggesting a spiritual, rather than biological, role for indigenous peoples in the construction of *rioplatense*. The Guaraní people of Paraguay and northeastern Argentina introduced *yerba mate* to the broader Argentine population, and by the early nineteenth century it was wildly popular among all Argentine classes and regions. The textual emphasis of the advertisement (see n. 83) is on the nourishing qualities of *mate*, and how these qualities had benefited the formation of a *raza rioplatense*. The name of this brand of *mate*, Ñanduty, highlights the indigenous origins of the *yerba*, and it is in this light that the indigenous woman makes her appearance: as the spiritual auteur of *yerba mate*, and as the nourishing agent in the triumph of Euro-descended Argentines and Uruguayans.

<sup>96</sup>See also Figures 8 and 9.

There was, of course, some sense to the exercise: as described earlier in this dissertation, the most popular Argentine players—those who excelled on big porteño clubs and on the Buenos Aires-controlled Argentine national team—were drawn from working class Buenos Aires neighborhoods like La Boca and Boedo. Many of them were second- and third-generation immigrants from Europe. In this light, that the standard caricatured Argentine should resemble Luis Monti or Américo Tesorieri does not surprise. But, as chapter 4 will show, the porteño-centered, Eurocentric formulation of Argentine racial or cultural identity excluded significant portions of the Argentine population.

*¡Hermanos en la Gloria!*



**El triunfo de una raza**

Argentinos y Uruguayos, al vencer, en varonil lucha deportiva, a todos los conjuntos mundiales que enfrentaron, han puesto de manifiesto, en forma elocuente, la potencialidad de la raza rioplatense, fuerte, sobria e inteligente, tonificada desde su más tierna edad a base de mate.

ÑANDUTY contribuyó poderosamente a cimentar esa extraordinaria vitalidad y resistencia que demostraron en Amsterdam los footballistas argentinos.

**ÑANDUTY**  
LA MAS CARA DE LAS YERBAS

ha cumplido y demostrado, una vez más, sus grandes propiedades alimenticias y fortificantes.

Figure 7. "Brothers in Glory: The Triumph of a Race." Representation of the "Rioplatine" male physical archetype embodied by Argentine and Uruguayan national team players. *La Nación*, June 14, 1928, p. 5.

Athletically, *rioplatenses* were said to perform “within typical Latin<sup>97</sup> modalities, that is to say, with greater vivacity, quickness, and movement [than their rivals].”<sup>98</sup> “Latin” in this instance provided a unifying function, aligning Argentines qualitatively with the Italians and Spaniards who had provided the bulk of recent European immigrants. Aníbal Vigil makes this formulation explicit in an editorial in *El Gráfico* titled “Race and Sports.” “The Latin...is made for speedy sports,” he wrote. “It would be difficult for an Anglo-Saxon or a Scandinavian to imitate the elegant, delicate, classical movements and virtuoso flexibility of the [Spanish] bullfighter Belmonte.”<sup>99</sup> Italians, for their part, were “formed with the same model, but with more national spirit.” Vigil concluded his piece by writing, “Latins will continue to be the best in any activity demanding speed, initiative, and intelligence, leaving the heavy work and arduous sports for others.”<sup>100</sup> Physical flexibility, corporal levity, and agility lay at the heart of this formulation of the *raza rioplatense*, and the broader Argentine sports press contained

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<sup>97</sup>The use of “Latin” here, while appearing with less frequency than “Argentine,” “American,” or “*rioplatense*,” was not uncommon in the sport pages, and was used more or less synonymously with those terms (see, for instance, “La segunda derrota del Motherwell,” *La Argentina*, May 18, 1928). Emphasis on “Latin”-ness echoed certain ideas made popular in mid-nineteenth century by the likes José María Torres Caicedo, who in his poem “Las dos américas” attempted to differentiate a “Latin” spiritual heritage from the “Saxon race.” Torres Caicedo—informed by a broader emergence of “Latin America” as a geographical and cultural term—anticipated the fin-de-siècle writings of Rodó and of Hispanists like Leopoldo Lugones or Ricardo Rojas, all of whom emphasized a non-Anglo spiritual heritage shared by all Ibero-American nations. See Walter D. Mignolo, *The Idea of Latin America* (Malden, Mass.: Blackwell Publishing, 2005).

<sup>98</sup>*La Nación*, June 6, 1924, PP. The affirmation of “Latin modalities” takes on a different aspect here than the spiritual Hispanicism of Rodó or Vasconcelos. Soccer being a physical match, physically differentiated characteristics were required to explain the perceived physical superiority of the “Latin” vis-à-vis northern Europeans, who, as shall be seen, are seen as their physical antitheses.

<sup>99</sup>“Raza y Sport,” *El Gráfico*, November 27, 1926, p. 15.

<sup>100</sup>*Ibid.*

numerous similar statements affirming that “Latin” bodies like the Rioplatine were more “agile,”<sup>101</sup> “flexible,”<sup>102</sup> “acrobatic”<sup>103</sup> or energetic<sup>104</sup> than northern European bodies.

In their defeats to Argentine and Uruguayan opponents on the soccer field, European players appeared to reify these racialized dichotomies. Virgilio Tedin Uriburu, self-confessed “lover of the races that come to our melting pot to form a new national archetype,”<sup>105</sup> summarized opponents’ maladies in *Crítica*: “The Northern European can never compete with the vivaciousness and agility of Latin Americans.”<sup>106</sup> Regarding the Dutch players defeated by Uruguay in the 1924 world championship, the Motherwell team during their Argentine tour of mid-1928, or the United States national team playing against Argentina in the 1930 World Cup, the diagnosis was the same: the overwhelming

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<sup>101</sup>*La Nación*, June 10, 1924, p. 3; “El Dr. Belgeri nos habla de la jira de Boca Juniors por Europa,” *Crítica*, March 13, 1925, p. 13; “La segunda derrota del Motherwell,” *La Argentina*, May 18, 1928; *La Vanguardia*, June 10, 1928; “¿Hemos ido a Europa a enseñar fútbol?” *La Cancha*, June 16, 1928, p. 13.

<sup>102</sup>*La Nación*, June 10, 1924, p. 3; *La Argentina*, May 21, 1928, p. 12.

<sup>103</sup>*La Nación*, June 6, 1924, PP.

<sup>104</sup>Various terms encapsulated the notion of a particularly energetic *rioplatense* body vis-à-vis those of its racial rivals. Politicians Virgilio Tedin Uriburu (*Crítica*, June 9, 1924, p.2) and Aldo Cantoni (“Ricardo Aldao es el culpable que falte nuestra representación en la Olimpiada Mundial,” *ibid*, p. 3) preferred the term *vivacidad* to describe the key difference between the Uruguayans and their northern European opponents (see also “Los jugadores del Plymouth Argyle han hecho en el día de ayer su mayor match de la jira de nuestra república,” *Crítica*, July 21, 1924, p. 14; and “La excelente labor de conjunto desarrollado por el equipo argentino,” *La Vanguardia*, July 28, 1930, p. 5). Pundit Francisco Belgeri (“La victoria de los uruguayos es algo nuestro,” *Crítica*, June 9, 1924, p.2) opted for the term “iniciativa.” Other related terms included *entusiasmo* (“Los matches que se ganaron a los escoceses fue por un alarde de entusiasmo y guapeza,” *La Argentina*, May 21, 1928, p. 12), *pujanza* (“Muchachos criollos,” *Última Hora*, May 28, 1928, p. 10), and *fogosidad* (“La segunda derrota del Motherwell,” *La Argentina*, May 18, 1928).

<sup>105</sup>“Discurso del doctor V. Tedin Uriburu,” Asociación Argentina de Football, *Memorias y Balance* (1924), p. 53.

<sup>106</sup>*Crítica*, June 9, 1924, p. 2. He expanded this point in *La Nación* the following day: “Our soccer players have...the Latin quickness...and the necessary energy to perform their work [on the soccer field] with utmost speed” (*La Nación*, June 10, 1924, p. 3).

enthusiasm and agility of the *rioplatenses* proved superior to the “cold,”<sup>107</sup> “slow,”<sup>108</sup> and “mechanical”<sup>109</sup> opponents. Adjectives like “phlegmatic,” “apathetic,” and “heavy” supported the same point.<sup>110</sup> One particularly memorable cartoon<sup>111</sup> appearing in *Crítica* during the 1928 Olympic Games illustrated how the United States and Argentina—“two representatives of different races”<sup>112</sup>—played out their racial destinies on the field. The US players are balding and feeble, representatives of the slower “Saxon” race.<sup>113</sup> Their youthful Argentine opponents, archetypes of a “new nationality”<sup>114</sup> and products of white mestizaje, have time to drink *mate* in between the eleven goals they scored.<sup>115</sup>

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<sup>107</sup>“¡Criollos lindos!” *La Argentina*, May 14, 1928; “Gallardas figuras, altos los pechos, pletóricos de juventud y entusiasmos los veintidós atletas rioplatenses,” *Crítica*, June 9, 1928, pp. 12-13; *La Vanguardia*, June 10, 1928.

<sup>108</sup>“La segunda derrota del Motherwell,” *La Argentina*, May 18, 1928; “La superioridad de nuestro football,” *Última Hora*, June 4, 1928, p. 3.

<sup>109</sup>“Los jugadores del Plymouth Argyle han hecho en el día de ayer su mayor match de la jira por nuestra república,” *Crítica*, July 21, 1924, p. 14; “La excelente labor del conjunto...” *La Vanguardia*, July 28, 1930, p. 5.

<sup>110</sup>“¡Criollos lindos!” *La Argentina*, May 14, 1928; *La Nación*, June 10, 1924, p. 3; “Gallardas figuras, altos los pechos, pletóricos de juventud y entusiasmos los veintidós atletas rioplatenses,” *Crítica*, June 9, 1928, pp. 12-13; “La segunda derrota del Motherwell,” *La Argentina*, May 18, 1928; “Los matches que se ganaron a los escoceses fue por un alarde de entusiasmo y guapeza,” *La Argentina*, May 21, 1928, p. 12; “La excelente labor del conjunto...” *La Vanguardia*, July 28, 1930, p. 5; “La victoria de los uruguayos es algo nuestro,” *Crítica*, June 9, 1924, p. 2; “El Dr. Belgeri nos habla de la jira de Boca Juniors por Europa,” *Crítica*, March 13, 1925, p. 7.

<sup>111</sup>“Gran partido de ayer reconstruido por nuestro dibujante Rojas,” *Crítica*, May 30, 1930, p. 10. See appendix C.

<sup>112</sup>*Crítica*, June 9, 1928, pp. 12-13.

<sup>113</sup>*Ibid.* Never mind that the United States could—and did—lay its own claim to white mestizaje. Argentine pride, not logistical consistency, was the point.

<sup>114</sup>“Muchachos criollos,” *Última Hora*, May 28, 1928, p. 10.

<sup>115</sup>Argentina won the May 29 game 11-2. When the United States and Argentina met again in the semifinals of the 1930 World Cup, the score was 6 to 1. Such results did bespeak the very real differences existing between the two countries in matters of soccer. And, as we have seen earlier in this chapter, an Argentine press corps eager for international recognition extrapolated from these results a larger pattern linked to racial theory and national destiny.

Argentina's "mix of that gloriously generous Latin blood,"<sup>116</sup> had appeared to produce a superlative Latin physical type that gave them an insuperable physical advantage on the field.

And yet, Latin and Mediterranean traits were not all. In the *raza rioplatense* white mestizaje had produced something decidedly new, according to another discursive motif evident in the sports pages. This motif emphasized the newness of the Argentine race—always, implicitly—vis-à-vis Europe. One celebratory editorial appearing in *La Vanguardia* noted that "Río de la Plata [was] vigorous, strong, and agile because of its youth."<sup>117</sup> *La Argentina* asserted repeatedly that Argentine soccer signified the "triumph of a young country and a new race."<sup>118</sup> *Crítica* published an article that affirmed the "enduring lesson" of Argentine sports success to be "an assuredness that, in the face of the decadence of European youth, America is crystallizing its racial vigor, providing a magnificent example of strength and culture."<sup>119</sup> In highlighting the racial newness seen to characterize the region, these references proved in perfect accordance with the positivist notion that the *raza rioplatense* was a recent, evolutionarily produced, scientifically explicable creation.

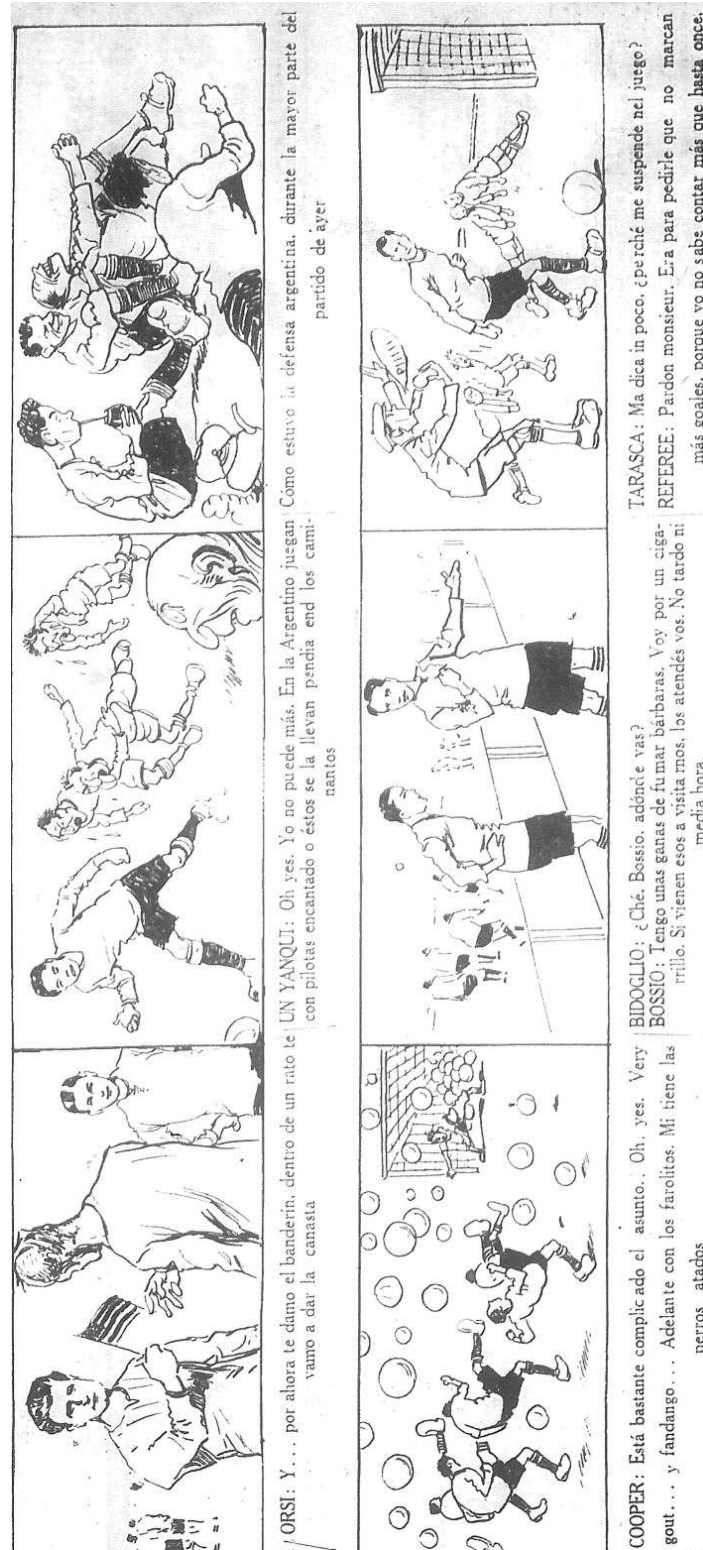
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<sup>116</sup>"Raza generosa," *Última Hora*, June 11, 1928.

<sup>117</sup>*La Vanguardia*, June 12, 1928, p. 4.

<sup>118</sup>"22 hombres del Plata disputarán hoy el campeonato olímpico," *ibid*, June 10, 1928, p. 12. See also "Sud América, representada por los futbolistas rioplatenses, impone en Europa el prestigio de su raza, ágil, nueva, y fuerte," *ibid*, June 8, 1928, p. 3 and "El triunfo de la juventud Argentina," *ibid*, November 28, 1927, PP.

<sup>119</sup>*Crítica*, June 9, 1928, pp. 12-13. This allegation that Europe had become biologically decadent also appears in the writings of conservative Argentine thinkers such as the early-mentioned Ingenieros and Lugones. The horrors of World War I, which were played out in Argentine newspapers in great detail, indicated to these writers the moral perversion permeating *old* Europe. See, for instance, José Ingenieros, *Las fuerzas morales* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Losada, 1925), 16-17.



**Figure 8. "Yesterday's great match reconstructed by our sketcher Rojas."** Representation of the Argentine physical archetype embodied by national team soccer players. Note the contrasted Argentine and U.S. players. *Crítica*, May 30, 1930, p. 10.





Figure 9. "The Boca Juniors *rapaciños* in Vigo." Representation of the Argentine physical archetype embodied by major Argentine soccer players. Note the contrasting images offered by Boca Juniors captain Américo Tesorieri (bottom left) and his Galician counterparts. *Crítica*, March 7, 1925, p. 22.

Argentina's perceived multiplicity of European races lay at the heart of the *raza rioplatense* construction. According to Francisco Belgeri<sup>120</sup>, a noted scholar of the era, the "ethnic characteristics of [different] races" had endowed the Argentine players with their differentiated talent.<sup>121</sup> Belgeri argued that unlike the Europe case, where "every European country respond[ed] to a single bloodline...the bloodlines of all the races help[ed] form the nationalities of these new South American countries."<sup>122</sup> Belgeri's prestige lent his opinion credibility, and similar articulations of racial ideology came from other public figures like *El Gráfico* director Aníbal Vigil and Amado Grandi, Director General of Immigration for the Argentine government.

Vigil had made explicit the link between racial newness and mestizaje when, in the above mentioned essay "Race and Sports," he said, "The Latin American is the model sportsman" because of "his mixture of races...tastes, and temperaments."<sup>123</sup> Grandi agreed, although for him the fact that the 1928 gold medal match was being contested between two Rioplatine teams demonstrated "the degree of vigorousness resulting from the old European races as they mix and unite in America."<sup>124</sup> Here Grandi narrows

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<sup>120</sup>Francisco Belgeri was president of the Sociedad Argentina de Oftalmología (Argentine Ophthalmology Society). In addition to this, he was a known poet and amateur linguist. He had played soccer in his youth and during the 1920s served as president of the Buenos Aires club Estudiantil Porteño. In the soccer world of the 1920s and 1930s, Belgeri's opinion was often sought by major sports publications. One article in particular, "El fútbol como problema social," has become required reading for historians of Argentine sports. See "El fútbol como problema social," *El Gráfico*, August 26, 1938. See also "El fútbol visto hace 60 años: Rupturas y continuidades," *Efdeportes.com*, <http://www.efdeportes.com/efd10/belgeri.htm>. In the 1930s Belgeri would also serve as an official for the Rosario giants Rosario Central. See Cipriano Roldán and Juan Pascual, "Del presidente del tribunal de penas," in *Revista Cincuentenario: Rosario Central 1889-1939* (Rosario, Arg.: Club Atlético Rosario Central, 1939): 4.

<sup>121</sup>"La victoria de los uruguayos es algo nuestro," *Crítica*, June 9, 1924, p. 2.

<sup>122</sup>*Ibid.* Belgeri was careful to exclude Switzerland from this categorization because of its mixture of "Germans, Frenchmen, and Italians."

<sup>123</sup>"Raza y Sport," *El Gráfico*, November 27, 1926, p. 15.

<sup>124</sup>*Crítica*, June 11, 1928, p. 3.

Belgeri's broader formulation of "all races" to include just Europeans, for, as *La Prensa* editorialized, "all of us *criollos* are the descendants of Europeans."<sup>125</sup> And he went on: "This point, extremely important from a social perspective, cannot be denied; [the Olympic triumph] has been achieved by an immigrant continent that is taking the best bloodlines in the world and fusing them...creating a product whose qualities and achievements are treating the world to the present athletic jousts in Amsterdam."<sup>126</sup> This vision of Argentine racial identity emphasized the familiar tropes of Argentine whiteness while employing the forms and values of mestizaje discourse. White mestizaje, in the words of Belgeri, had combined the "best bloodlines," pooling together "the most outstanding characteristics of each [European] race, complementing each other and perfecting each other physically and intellectually."<sup>127</sup> It was the sort of mestizaje Vasconcelos had called the "most productive." Its result was a young, corporeally and mentally superlative *raza rioplatense* with no trace of African or indigenous heritage.

### **Conclusion: Bedtime Stories for Blondes on Race Day**

Every year on October 12 Argentines, along with other national populations in the Spanish-speaking world, celebrate Día de la Raza, or Race Day.<sup>128</sup> October 12 coincides

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<sup>125</sup>Quoted in "Argentinos: no Italo-Vasco-Anglo-Francoargentinos!" *Crítica*, October 17, 1927, p. 2.

<sup>126</sup>*Crítica*, June 11, 1928, p. 3.

<sup>127</sup>"La victoria de los uruguayos es algo nuestro," *Crítica*, June 9, 1924, p. 2.

<sup>128</sup>Some have chosen to translate this holiday as "Day of Hispanity" or "Spanish Culture Day." See, for instance, O. Carlos Stoetzer, "Krausean Philosophy as a Major Political and Social Force in Modern Argentina and Guatemala," in *Bridging the Atlantic: Toward a Reassessment of Iberian and Latin American Cultural Ties*, ed. Marina Pérez de Mendiola (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1996), 97-98. I opt to retain the multifaceted word "race" in my translation because, particularly within the

with the landing date of Christopher Columbus in the Americas. Although this holiday has in recent decades faded in popularity, during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries October 12 entailed a passionate celebration of Spanish culture as well as a commemoration of Columbus's feat.<sup>129</sup> The term *raza* in Latin America can convey multiple meanings, sometimes simultaneously, as noted in the introduction of this dissertation. Concepts as wide ranging as "national population," "biological makeup," and "civilization" can all be invoked with the use of *raza*. While the meanings attached to the Día de la Raza in its heyday were largely cultural—"spiritual" in the parlance of the day—racial considerations also gained especial prominence during the celebrations.

In 1920s Argentina, Día de la Raza coincided with the final match of the Campeonato Argentino, a popular soccer tournament involving teams from all Argentine provinces, itself the subject of chapter three. The yearly imbrication of Día de la Raza with an acclaimed, self-styled "national" soccer tournament—in which representative specimens of the Argentine racial type would be on display—proved inspirational for editorialists. In one October 12 piece titled "Race Day and Sports," the author invoked

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Argentine soccer world, the "Día de la Raza" produced much commentary centered on traditional concepts of biological race.

<sup>129</sup> Argentina was the first nation to celebrate the Día de la Raza as a national holiday. Soon after its institution by Argentine president Hipólito Yrigoyen in 1917, Spain and many Ibero-American countries followed suit. In his original decree, Yrigoyen hailed the singularity of "Spanish genius" in the "civilizing" of the Americas. He also described the "blooming of American nations"—evidenced in no better place than Argentina at that moment in time—as the greatest legacy of Spanish conquest. See "El día de la raza," *Caras y caretas*, no. 1045 (October 1918): 36.

Columbus's Genoese origins notwithstanding, Spain and its colonies celebrated the audacity of the Spanish monarchy in sponsoring the transatlantic voyage. However, the numerous Italian and Italian-descended population in Argentina—among whom Genoese immigrants occupied a prominent place—also claimed the day for the same purpose. During the 1920s newspapers went out of their way not just to include Italians and Italian-Argentines in the celebration, but to cite them as prominent part of the Argentine racial and cultural makeup. See "Hoy, Día de la Raza," *Crítica*, October 12, 1923, p. 5; "Los italianos en la Argentina," *La República*, October 12, 1922, p. 3; "La inmigración española e italiana en el desarrollo de la República Argentina," *La Gaceta* [Tucumán], October 12, 1926, p. 8; and "El día de la raza es la fiesta de la humanidad," *Última Hora*, October 12, 1926, p. 2.

the scene of an Argentine man telling his grandson a bedtime story about the origins of the “legendary” Argentine race:

And the grandfather ended the bedtime story, saying: ‘That ancient legend also says that in that country bordering the great Atlantic and colossal Andes, there once lived a gigantic race, a race of centaurs, that carried within it the steeliness of the indomitable *araucano*, of the rebellious Calchaqui, and the crude Guarani, mixed with the blood of lofty Iberia, of manly Italy, and libertarian France. And thus, with all those qualities blending together in the melting pot of a promised land, our race was formed. And with the passage of time, [that race] has made a name for itself in every imaginable sort of human activity.’ And the grandfather grew quiet as he stroked the blond hair of his grandson.<sup>130</sup>

The bedtime scene completed, the writer ended the editorial by observing that modern-day Argentina had “sprung forth from that bold and valiant race” bespoken in the legend. The editorial’s author also noted that Argentina’s newfound prominence in the world was due in no small part to the racial vigor of its sports stars, including recent gold-medal winning athletes from Argentina’s boxing, swimming, and polo Olympic teams.<sup>131</sup> Special mention was reserved for the “22” Olympic soccer players,<sup>132</sup> the protagonists of the 1928 Olympic tournament so instrumental to the worldwide spread of Argentine renown.

The bedtime story scene evoked in the editorial may be considered notable for its inclusive rendering of Argentine *mestizaje*. However, while the inclusion of Patagonian and northeastern indigenous groups in the formulation of Argentine racial origins was not unheard of in the Argentine press, most mainstream efforts to articulate the *raza rioplatense* during the early twentieth century emphasized European elements. And

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<sup>130</sup>“El día de la raza y el deporte,” *La Argentina*, October 12, 1928, p. 13.

<sup>131</sup>Ibid.

<sup>132</sup>The editorialist evidently included the Uruguayan national soccer players in his count. However, as this chapter has labored to show, this was just as much a reflection of the affirmative, transnational construction of the *raza rioplatense* as the geopolitical chauvinism of the writer.

although the mention of indigenous populations seems, on the surface, to have allowed for the supposition of a racially pluralistic nation, the affirmation of the grandson's "blond" hair makes explicit the triumph of European biology in the makeup of the Argentine type. The "*araucanos*," "Calchaqui," and "Guarani" cited by the grandfather had endowed the Argentine youth with a spiritual inheritance—valor and "steeliness"—but had no further role to play on Argentina's genetic, cultural, social, or political stage. Whitening, effected with the help of the "blood of lofty Iberia, of manly Italy, of libertarian France," had clearly won out. Related, perhaps, to the early iterations of the *indigenismo*<sup>133</sup> movement originally inspired by Vasconcelos, the editorial engenders a mythologization of Latin American indigenous peoples, presenting them as a relic of the fading past rather than a component of an ascendant Argentine nation-state.

The fantasies of foundational Argentine statesmen like Sarmiento and Alberdi seemed thus fulfilled. Although the desired Scandinavian, German, and British immigrants never materialized en masse, Argentina's numerous Latin immigrants had remade the country—remade the Pampas region and its cities, at least—by the force of their blood. The national soccer stars emerging from the Pampas's big cities in the early twentieth century—the Tesorieris, Libonattis, and Seoanes—reflected the swell of working-class European immigration. On one level it is little wonder that they became archetypes of Argentine-ness, given the reality of the Pampas's demographic explosion. At the same time, large parts of the Argentine interior remained largely unchanged by the

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<sup>133</sup>The *indigenismo* intellectual and artistic movement of the early-to-mid-twentieth honored indigenous heritage of Latin American nations. However, the ultimate goal of indigenists was to assimilate people of indigenous descent into national, "modern" life. In this way the past of Latin American indigenous peoples proved the object of celebration rather than the present or the future. See Alan Knight, "Racism, Revolution, and *Indigenismo*: Mexico, 1910-1940," in *The Idea of Race in Latin America, 1870-1940*, ed. Richard Graham (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990): 71-130; and Kelly R. Swartout, *Assimilating the Primitive: Parallel Dialogues on Racial Miscegenation in Revolutionary Mexico* (New York: P. Lang, 2004).

economic, social, cultural, and racial “modernization” described in this chapter. The geographically and culturally circumscribed version of Argentine-ness presented by the porteño press excluded large parts of the country, and the result was a bifurcated nationhood that is still the source of social tension in Argentina.

## CONCLUSION

Today, many expressions of Argentine national pride are still inhabited by notions of whiteness and European-ness. Even as claims of racial superiority to Europe have faded—relics of a more optimistic time—a defined strain of racial exceptionalism endures in various tropes of Argentine discourse.<sup>1</sup> One common, present-day Argentine refrain reflects the durability of the white Argentine identity widely disseminated in the 1920s sports pages: “Mexicans descend from Aztecs, and Chileans from Mapuches, but we Argentines descend from ships,” a representative variation of the saying goes.<sup>2</sup> Jorge Luis Borges repeatedly mused on this idea throughout his career, writing at one point that Argentines were “Europeans in exile.”<sup>3</sup> Such thinking evinces the limits of *mestizaje* ideology as a tool for understanding certain expressions of Argentine national identity: these expressions of Argentine nationhood are laden with far more *white* than *mestizaje*. For all the popularity of “melting-pot” metaphors popularized throughout the twentieth century,<sup>4</sup> Argentine white *mestizaje* ideology evokes racial mixture

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<sup>1</sup> Naturally, this discourse is most salient in the Pampas and is prevalent among the *porteño* middle class. For excellent insights into present-day popular Argentine conceptions of whiteness and regional exceptionalism, see Emanuela Guano, “A Color for the Modern Nation: The Discourse on Class, Race, and Education in the Porteño Middle Class,” *Journal of Latin American Anthropology* 8, no. 1 (2003): 148-171; and Ezequiel Adamovsky, *Historia de la clase media argentina: Apogeo y decadencia de una ilusión, 1919-2003* (Buenos Aires: Planeta, 2009).

<sup>2</sup> This saying is sometimes attributed to Mexican writers Octavio Paz or Carlos Fuentes. This writer has been unable to locate the origins of that aphorism, but if it indeed emerged from the pen of Paz or Fuentes, it would be a continuation of the earlier work of their compatriot José Vasconcelos, who strove to situation Argentina as a useful counterpoint to Mexico in matters of racial composition.

<sup>3</sup> Jorge Luis Borges, *Borges A/Z*, ed. Antonio Fernández Ferrer (Madrid: Ediciones Siruela, 1988), 95.

<sup>4</sup> Arnd Schneider, “The Two Faces of Modernity: Concepts of the Melting Pot in Argentina” *Critique of Anthropology* 16, no. 173 (1996): 186-189.



only secondarily. In the end the terms of the debate centered more on the question of whether Argentines were more European than their peers than on whether they were a new, superior mixture of different races.<sup>5</sup> In both cases the sports pages ultimately helped to propagate an exclusivist racial construction centered on Europe—one that has an enduring legacy in modern Argentina.

The white *mestizaje* of the 1920s has not gone unchanged or unchallenged in the nearly 100 years that have followed. A number of Argentine scholars agree that in the present day, white Argentine identity has become something a middle-class conceit limited to Euro-descended porteños and other like-minded inhabitants of the Pampas region.<sup>6</sup> Evident in this thinking is an acknowledgement that, notwithstanding Argentina's significant economic travails over the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, European immigrants to the Pampas and their descendants are now firmly ensconced in the middle and upper classes. By the same token, other regions of the country, notably the Argentine Northwest, were largely ignored by European immigrants during the great transatlantic migrations. Together, the combined 1927 population of Santiago del Estero and Tucumán alone totaled some 800,000 souls,<sup>7</sup> but only 6% of the former's and 10% of the latter's population were foreign-born.<sup>8</sup> In a national development plan

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<sup>5</sup> And, given the situation, if *criollismo* must be highlighted to positively differentiate Argentina from its European cousins, the *mestizaje* elements of white *mestizaje* ideology are brought into relief accordingly.

<sup>6</sup> See also Adamovsky, *Historia de la clase media argentina*; Enrique Garguin, "'Los argentinos descendemos de los barcos': The Racial Articulation of Middle Class Identity in Argentina (1920-1960) in *Latin American and Caribbean Ethnic Studies* 2:2, 161-184; Galen Joseph, "Taking Race Seriously: Whiteness in Argentina's National and Transnational Imaginary Identities," *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power* 7:3 (2000), 333-371. See also Arnd Schneider, *Futures Lost: Nostalgia and Identity among Italian Immigrants in Argentina* (Bern, Switzerland: Peter Lang Publishers, 2000); and Alejandro Grimson and Gabriel Kessler, *On Argentina and the Southern Cone: Neoliberalism and National Imaginations* (New York: Taylor & Francis Group; Routledge, 2005), 3-9, 119-121.

<sup>7</sup> The inclusion of other Northwestern provinces—La Rioja, Catamarca, Salta, and Jujuy—puts the total 1927 population of the Argentine Northwest at 1.3 million, setting it at equal terms with the national capital by this reckoning.

that prioritized the development of the Pampas over all else, other regional economies ground to a halt. Those Northwestern industries linked to agricultural resources—*tucumano* sugar or *santiagueño* lumber, for instance—proved fleeting, unsustainable, or a combination of both. In general, the problematic socioeconomic profiles of many Argentine provinces made it impossible for them to lend themselves to arriving European immigrants in search of upward mobility. Then, as today, countless commentators condemned the economic malaise and stratified societies that seem to characterize the Argentine Interior. Accordingly, there exists an entrenched tradition of placing the blame for the underdevelopment of the Argentine Interior at the feet of provincial Argentines themselves. A vaguely defined, alleged *provincialism*, cited without any reference to national economic policy, has been made to account for the ills of the provinces.<sup>9</sup>

The non-European-ness of many parts of the Argentine Interior—quantifiable in some sense given the relative dearth of European immigrants in those regions—has also come to play a role in the accounting of provincial shortcomings. The historical ties of the Northwestern region to the Andes and the Gran Chaco—civilizational redoubts of major South American indigenous groups—had since the earliest colonial days given those Argentine provinces a mestizo flavor reflected in the local demography and in local culture. Given the prevalence of scientific racism during the key decades of Argentine state formation, it is hardly surprising that bound up in

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<sup>8</sup> *Anuario de La Acción: Diario de la tarde* (Buenos Aires: Compañía Impresora Argentina, 1928): 323-334. See also David Rock, *Argentina, 1516-1987: From Spanish Colonization to Alfonsín* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 176.

<sup>9</sup> Larry Sawers' *The Other Argentina: The Interior and National Development* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1996) is a particularly egregious offender in this regard. Devoid of historical analysis, the book lays the ills of the more impoverished regions of the Argentine Interior at the feet of *provincianos* themselves. Seemingly channeling nineteenth-century thinkers like Sarmiento and Alberdi, Sawers contends that the parochial traditionalism of the Argentine Northwest self-isolates the region from attitudes and policies conducive to development. The author also condemns the drain of national resources caused by federal subsidies to impoverished provincial governments, identifying this expense as the definitive retardation in the performance of Argentina's national economy.

Bartolomé Mitre's famous dismissal of the Argentine Interior provinces as "thirteen straw huts" was a racialized denial of provincial Argentines' aptitude for material progress or self-rule. Euro-descended Argentines came to be inexorably implicated in the *creation* of the economic boom of the 1870-1930 period rather than seen as a reflection of the bounties of the Pampas. The creation of wealth, the expansion of infrastructure on a whole host of levels, and the blossoming of the Pampas became the *ex post facto* result of European genius. In the same way, the stagnation of certain regions of the Interior appeared to reflect the civilizational failure of indigenous, African, and mixed-race Argentines.

During this period Argentine soccer seemed to represent the potency of a new, promising nation-state. Argentines from all regions and social classes saw reflected in the performance of soccer teams the abilities of a nation to self-organize and to overcome competitors. On one level this made perfect sense: in the early twentieth century the achievements of Argentine soccer on an international scale clearly resulted from Argentine material prosperity. The fact that both Argentina and Uruguay—the two richest countries in Latin America in the early decades of the twentieth century—became two of the most successful soccer-playing nations in the world must be attributed, at least in part, to their growing wealth. On another level, and in a manner paralleling these interpretations of Argentine economic prosperity, it was impossible to attribute Argentine soccer success to anything other than its superior racial population. And when the majority of players on the national team hailed from the European-inflected Buenos Aires and the big cities of the Pampas, the points seemed doubly emphasized: successful races made for successful soccer teams. Successful soccer teams made for successful nations.

Despite the evident hegemony of Argentine Eurocentrism in defining the boundaries of Argentine nationalism, dissenters in Buenos Aires and in the Argentine provinces give no ground

in the struggle to define Argentine identity. There exists no unanimity, nor has there ever, about Argentina's racial and cultural soul. Argentina never appeared so convincingly white or European as it did in the early decades of the twentieth century, yet during that same period a major cultural movement—*criollismo*—arose to counter Eurocentric cosmopolitanism with ideas rooted in Hispanism and traditionalism.<sup>10</sup> The likes of José Hernández, Ricardo Rojas, Leopoldo Lugones, and Manuel Gálvez, to name some of the most prominent figures, strove to counter the idea of an exclusively Euro-descended Argentina by opposing immigration and promoting gauchesque culture, among other measures.<sup>11</sup> However, Argentine thinkers and intellectuals in the Interior like Benjamín Villafañe found little succor in the classic porteño-emitted *criollista* texts, and neither Rojas, nor Lugones, nor Gálvez were invited to Villafañe's or Canal Feijóo's epochal Northwestern conferences to address issues of regional underdevelopment. Nor did those Romantic idealizations of Argentina's gauchesque, pastoral past enjoy popular resonance in the Argentine Interior.

Soccer, on the other hand, did resonate in the Argentine Interior. This is the unique universalizing quality of sports, and an underlying theme in this dissertation. Its popularization in the 1910s, occurring concurrently in all Argentine regions, made it an ideal vehicle for projecting regional pride. The unmatched dissemination of the Argentine sports press, among all regions and classes, made soccer a crucial site for the formulation of regional identities and a

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<sup>10</sup> *Criollismo* has received infinitely more attention than cosmopolitanism in Argentine historiography. Notable studies of the movement include Nicolas Shumway, *The Invention of Argentina* (Berkeley: University of California, 1991); Adolfo Prieto, *El discurso criollista en la formación de la Argentina moderna* (Buenos Aires: Sudamericana, 1988); and Josefina Ludmer, *The Gaucho Genre: A Treatise on Motherland* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002).

<sup>11</sup> *Criollismo* also bled over into the world of sports; the majority of Argentine writing about the connection between sports and Argentine national identity has emphasized *criollismo* rather than Eurocentrism. See Eduardo Archetti, *Masculinities: Football, Polo, and the Tango in Argentina* (Oxford, U.K.: Berg, 1999); *ibid.*, "In Search of National Identity: Argentinean Football and Europe," *International Journal of the History of Sport* 9, no. 2 (1992): 209-235; Pablo Alabarces, *Fútbol y patria: el fútbol y las narrativas de la nación en la Argentina* (Buenos Aires: Prometeo Libros, 2002); and Matthew Karush, "National Identity in the Sports Pages: Football and the Mass Media in 1920s Buenos Aires" in *The Americas* 60:1 (July 2003): 11-32.

means of channeling regional grievances. Soccer made protagonists of the poorest Argentines from the poorest regions, like Segundo Luna and his mother Antonia. It gave voice to their discontent and provided an avenue for inverting porteño-provincial relations on the soccer field. Members of the provincial bourgeoisie, like Santiago del Estero's Castiglione brothers or Bernardo Canal Feijóo, found themselves rejoicing in the perceived comeuppance of the Argentine Interior, brought about by events on the soccer field, made real by the feats of working-class provincial players. Soccer institutions in the Interior were ultimately unable to resist their dismantling by porteño forces and agents, but during the 1910s and 1920s, when anything seemed possible in Argentina, the triumphs of provincial soccer signified the triumphs of a region. And when region and nation came face to face, as in the Campeonato Argentino, the victories of the Interior reaffirmed provincial worth and hinted at the permanent upending of provincial subalternity.

Today, top-level Argentine soccer institutions, including the national team, are representative all Argentine regions. This is the case in the present day—as opposed to the 1910s and 1920s—principally because the professionalization of porteño soccer in the early 1930s set machinery firmly in place to funnel players to the Pampas from all parts of the Interior. In the Buenos Aires area—where 70% of top-flight Argentine clubs are still located,<sup>12</sup> a development unmatched<sup>13</sup> in major soccer-playing countries<sup>14</sup>—national team authorities have

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<sup>12</sup> For the 2013-2014 season, 90% of Argentina's first-division clubs will come from the Pampas, with the only outliers hailing from Córdoba (Belgrano) and Godoy Cruz (Mendoza).

<sup>13</sup> For the sake of comparison, in 2012 in Brazil, the most decentralized of Latin American countries, only six of twenty first-division clubs were located in São Paulo state. Four others came from Rio de Janeiro, two from Porte Alegre, two from Bahia, two from Minas Gerais, and two from Curitiba, among other states. That same year, only six of Chile's twenty first-division clubs were drawn from Santiago. Similarly decentralized, in a regional sense, are the soccer leagues of Peru, Bolivia, Colombia, Venezuela, Ecuador, and Mexico. Top European soccer leagues in England, Italy, Spain, Germany, France, Portugal, the Netherlands, Greece, Belgium, and Turkey, are also known for their regional diversity within national boundaries.

easy access to provincial players drawn there from the Interior at young ages. The respective livelihoods of the nation's most prestigious clubs—porteño institutions like River Plate, Boca Juniors, Independiente, Racing, and San Lorenzo—depend on players from Tucumán, Corrientes, Jujuy, and Entre Ríos. Many of these professional soccer players from the Interior have toiled alongside their porteño peers since pre-pubescence, when porteño scouts plucked from up their place of origin. The modern de-regionalization of Argentine soccer has served to obfuscate players' origins, disempowering the essentialist discourses of provincial behavior so fundamental to the soccer world of the 1910s, 1920s, and early 1930s. A national market for players, built on ever-expanding communication and transportation technologies, has also created a truly national school of soccer that has superseded the “Rioplatense” school of the increasingly distant past. The cost is the utter destitution of top-level soccer institutions in cities like Santiago del Estero, where such institutions brimmed with local talent in the 1920s.

The great internal migrations of the 1930s and 1940s from the Argentine North to the Pampas did much to obliterate the facile Pampas-Northwest racial dichotomies of the past. Oscar Chamosa's reflection that “there is more of Buenos Aires in the Interior, and more of the Interior in Buenos Aires, than either side is willing to admit,” first referenced in chapter two, gains renewed power when applied to the Argentine Pampas of the mid-twentieth century. Fleeing poverty, Northwestern migrants—especially santiagueños—flooded into Buenos Aires at a precipitous rate. The renewed interregional encounters—those that had initially been explored during the days of the Campeonato Argentino—revived old interregional tensions hinging on

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<sup>14</sup> The exception to this is Montevideo-dominated Uruguay, where half the national population dwells and where almost 90% of first-division clubs are located. For its part Asunción, which accounts for one-third of Paraguay's national population but close to 85% of its first-division clubs, is left out of this calculus simply because of its diminished profile in Latin American and global soccer—a trend which, sadly for Paraguay, has accelerated in recent years.

questions of class, race, and politics. The Peronist political system transformed these new migrants into a key element in their new working-class, urban coalition, a development that dismayed opponents of Peronism. The *cabecitas negras* (“little black heads”) trope so disdainfully applied to provincial migrants by anti-Peronist, European-descended commentators had as much to do with region-based racial stereotyping as it did with tensions of class or politics. The *pelo duro* rhetoric aimed at the 1928 santiagueño team found in “*cabecitas negras*” a worthy successor.

Poverty continues to draw internal migrants toward the Pampas. The mass movement of Argentines from the Northwest to the Pampas has slowed, however, only to be supplanted by arrivals from other provinces, regions, and countries. Years spent living in central Argentina showed this writer first-hand the degree to which the Pampean cities of Santa Fe, Rosario, and Buenos Aires stand ringed by precarious settlements (“*villas miserias*”) constructed by migrants from Chaco, Corrientes, and Formosa. A cynical observer, darkly delighting in the horror voiced by some porteños made to co-habitate with poor “*villeros*,” might be tempted to comment that the Pampas have reaped what has long been sown in the Interior. To this situation has been added an international dynamic. Since the 1990s the failures of neoliberalism and globalization have swollen the ranks of South American sufferers compelled to uproot their lives in search of a more fruitful existence. Those Argentines migrating to the Pampas have been increasingly joined by Paraguayans, Bolivians, and Peruvians, creating a multinational and multiregional community in every major Pampas city, especially Buenos Aires.

Still, for all its growing complexity, the contours of the situation seem familiar to those Argentines invested in rejecting their co-nationals for reasons of race or national origin. The same tired dichotomy between white and dark, between “Argentine” (porteño) and outsider, can

still be sought and assigned to present-day Argentine society. Nowhere has this become so apparent as in the Argentine soccer world of the present. The porteño club Boca Juniors, which cultivates an affiliation with working-class Argentines, is tirelessly taunted by rivals for their “Bolivian” and “Paraguayan” fan base. In one widely reported incident of xenophobia that took place in late 2010, Independiente de Avellaneda fans greeted the Boca Juniors team with a rain of pastries called *bolas*—a play on *bolitas*, a derogatory term for Bolivian immigrants.<sup>15</sup> On one level, “Bolivian” and “Paraguayan” function here as insults intended to delegitimize the participation of new immigrants in “authentically” Argentine sports culture. On another, more insidious level, those “insults” are intended for lifelong Argentines who fail, for reasons of race, culture, or regional provenance, to conform to the criteria set by discriminating porteño fans.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> The incident was denounced by the Bolivian government. See “Bolivia reclamará por xenofobia en Avellaneda,” *La Voz del Interior*, October 26, 2010, available at <http://mundod.lavoz.com.ar/futbol/bolivia-reclamara-por-xenofobia-en-avellaneda>. See also “Bolas tristes,” *Olé*, October 25, 2010. See also “Hinchas de Independiente arrojan bolas de fraile contra Boca,” *Terra.com.ar*, October 24, 2010, available at <http://deportes.terra.com.ar/futbol/hinchas-de-independiente-arrojan-bolas-de-fraile-contra-boca.b71976998ffdb210VgnVCM3000009af154d0RCRD.html> (accessed May 2013). The Independiente fans also throw umbrella-shaped chocolates (*paraguas*), a play on the word *paragua*, used as a slur referring to Paraguayan immigrants to Argentina. Independiente de Avellaneda was subsequently issued an undisclosed fine by the Asociación del Fútbol Argentino. For coverage in English, see Daniel Edwards, “Racist Abuse and Violence Tarnishes Independiente-Boca Juniors Derby,” *Goal.com*, October 25, 2010, available at <http://www.goal.com/en/news/585/argentina/2010/10/25/2182749/racist-abuse-and-violence-tarnishes-independiente-boca>. Similar incidents occurred in 2009 and 2012. See “Bolivianos y paraguayos víctimas de discriminación en canchas argentinas,” *Capítulo Boliviano de Derechos Humanos, Democracia y Desarrollo*, April 17, 2012, available at [http://www.derechoshumanosbolivia.org/noticia.php?cod\\_noticia=NO20120418134729](http://www.derechoshumanosbolivia.org/noticia.php?cod_noticia=NO20120418134729). Year in and year out anti-discriminatory agencies like INADI document and condemn these incidents; soccer has become a central battleground in their efforts to eradicate xenophobic, racial, sexuality-, and gender-based discrimination in Argentine society.

<sup>16</sup> As recently as 2013, fans from a prestigious team in the northwestern city of Salta, Gimnasia y Tiro, were reviled as “*bolivianos*” by the coaching staff of a rival team from Mendoza. The main protagonist was an Italian-descended Argentine from Mendoza, suggesting the existence not only of provincial rivalry, but also a racio-cultural hierarchy of regions and provinces discussed in chapter two of this dissertation. See “Bochorno del DT de Deportivo Maipú...,” *La Voz del Interior*, June 3, 2013, available at <http://mundod.lavoz.com.ar/futbol/bochorno-del-dt-de-deportivo-maipu-llamo-bolivianos-los-hinchas-de-gimnasia-y-tiro>; and “Vergonzoso: Luis Sperdutti trató de ‘bolivianos’ a los hinchas de Gimnasia y Tiro,” *Ascenso del Interior.com.ar*, June 3, 2013, available at <http://www.ascensodelinterior.com.ar/noticias/5384/vergonzoso-luis-sperdutti-trato-de-bolivianos-a-los-hinchas-de-gimnasia-y-tiro/>. An earlier event took place in 2008, when the president of the Jujuy team Gimnasia y Esgrima accused the Rosario-born referee Saúl Lavarni of insulting Gimnasia’s players by calling them “Bolivians.” The Gimnasia president, Raúl Ulloa, was in turn criticized by human rights groups for expressing “grave offense at being called Bolivian,” even as other observers noted that when used as an insult, the term becomes xenophobic. See “Bolivia pide explicaciones tras el episodio de Ulloa y Lavarni,” *La Nación*, September 24, 2009, available at



Alleging a fan's "Bolivian" or "Paraguayan" provenance serves to decouple from the national community those mestizo or working-class Argentine migrants from the Interior. As occurred in the 1920s, race is thus conflated with region, and regions are erased from the national community. In the process two integral groups of the Argentine national population—working-class migrants from the Argentine Interior and their counterparts from neighboring countries—are otherized on the country's most potent forum for debating national identity: soccer.

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<http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1052902-bolivia-pide-explicaciones-tras-el-episodio-de-ulloa-y-laverni>; and "El Cónsul de Bolivia en Jujuy afirmó que es xenófobo utilizar el término 'boliviano' como un insulto," *Jujuyaldía.com.ar*, September 23, 2008, available at <http://www.jujuyaldia.com.ar/jad/Destacados/53087.html>.

## APPENDICES

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<b><u>Reporters</u></b>	<b><u>Publications</u></b>	<b><u>Year(s) Active</u></b>	<b><u>Institutional Ties</u></b>	<b><u>Other</u></b>
Abella Caprile, Eduardo	<i>La Nación</i>	1920s	President of Asociación Bancaria Argentina de Deportes (affiliated with AAF) (1921); Asociación Amateurs Argentino de Football (AAAF) official (1927)	Writer; former Estudiantes de Buenos Aires player
Alterio, Eduardo	<i>La Cancha</i>	1930s	Player for Chacarita Juniors	
Alvarez Landa, Luis	<i>La Prensa</i>	1920s	Asociación Argentina de Football (AAF) official (1915-1919)	
Amézqueta, Rosauro	<i>Editorial Deportiva</i>	1920s		Geographer and writer
Arana, Arturo	<i>El Telégrafo</i>	1920s		
Aráoz, Bernabé	<i>El Orden</i> (Tucumán)	1920		
Arena, Alberto	<i>La Cancha</i>	1929-1930		
Avellaneda, José	<i>El Orden</i> (head of sports)	1920s	Federación Tucumana delegate to Asociación Amateurs de Football (AAmF) (1919-1926) and to AAAF (1926-1928)	Intellectual and writer
Baltíerrez, Rodolfo	<i>El Telégrafo</i> (director)	1910s-1920s		

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<b><u>Reporters</u></b>	<b><u>Publications</u></b>	<b><u>Year(s) Active</u></b>	<b><u>Institutional Ties</u></b>	<b><u>Other</u></b>
Barbetti, Julio T.	<i>La Nación, La Mañana, Crítica, La Razón, and Fray Mocho</i>	1910s-1930s		Played for Atlanta (BA) in early 1900s
Barreiro, Dionisio	<i>Crítica</i>	1920s		
Barreda, Pedro S.	<i>Última Hora, Diario del Plata</i> (La Plata) (head of sports)	1920s		
Belgeri, Francisco	<i>Crítica</i>	1920s	Estundial Porteño president in 1910s and 1920s; AAF official (1918); AAmF official (1919)	Former Estudiantil Porteño (BA) player
Benegas, Carlos V.	<i>La Tarde</i> (Mendoza), <i>La Libertad</i> (Mendoza)	1920s-1930s		Pseudonym "Ricardo Martín"
Benejam, Daniel	<i>El Orden</i>	1910s-1920s	Atlético Tucumán official	
Berardo, Nicolás Víctor	<i>La República</i>	1920s		
Bohigas, Angel	<i>El País</i> (head of sports), <i>El Diario, La Nación</i> (subdirector), <i>Sportsman</i>	1910s, 1920s		One of first Argentine sports writers in early 1900s
Bonín, Juan A.	<i>La Prensa</i> (head of sports)	1920	AAF official (pre-1919)	

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<b><u>Reporters</u></b>	<b><u>Publications</u></b>	<b><u>Year(s) Active</u></b>	<b><u>Institutional Ties</u></b>	<b><u>Other</u></b>
Carlini, Luis	<i>La Argentina</i> (head of sports), <i>El Diario</i> , <i>La Nación</i> (head of sports 1909-1931), <i>Última Hora</i>	1909-1931	Official in various independent leagues; AAF official in early 1920s	
Casime, Atilio	<i>Crítica</i>	1920s	Concordia (Entre Ríos) delegate to AAF (1919); AAAF and Confederación Nacional de Football (CNF) official (1929)	Radio commentator of note
Castillo, M.	<i>El Telégrafo</i>	1920s		
Cursach, Juan	<i>Crítica</i> ; <i>La Argentina</i>	1920s	Referee for AAF	
Daneri, Pablo Emilio	<i>El Debate</i> (Santa Fe); <i>El Litoral</i> (Santa FE)	1922-	President of Colón (Santa Fe) (1918-1920, 1926-1927)	
Delfino, Augusto Mario	<i>La Nación</i>	1920s-1950s		Author
De Madrid, César	<i>La Nación</i> , <i>Noticias Graficas</i> , <i>El Mundo</i> , <i>El Mundo Deportivo</i>	1925-1950s		
De Muro, Augusto	<i>La Nación</i> (head of sports); <i>La Razón</i> (head of sports); <i>Deportes</i> (founder); <i>Gaceta Deportiva</i> (founder); <i>Sport Ilustrado</i> (founder)	1910s-1930s	AAF official of note; early president of Atlanta (Buenos Aires)	Chess player and chess federation official of note

APPENDIX A: KNOWN ARGENTINE SPORTS JOURNALISTS AND INSTITUTIONAL TIES, 1912-1931

<b><u>Reporters</u></b>	<b><u>Publications</u></b>	<b><u>Year(s) Active</u></b>	<b><u>Institutional Ties</u></b>	<b><u>Other</u></b>
Dellacasa, Juan	<i>La Nación</i> (Rosario correspondent); <i>La Acción</i> (Rosario), <i>La Capital</i> (Rosario), <i>Crónica</i> (Rosario)	1910s-1930s	Newell's Old Boys (Rosario) player and Liga Rosarina official	Author of soccer related works for theater including the 1918 sainete "El football y sus cosas"
Dos Reis, Miguel Angel	<i>Última Hora</i> (head of sports 1908-1943); <i>El Diario</i> (head of sports)	1900s-1940s	AAF official of note in 1910s-1920s; represents Argentinos de Quilmes to AAF (1918)	Former player
Escobar Bavio, Angel M.	<i>La Nación</i> , <i>Crítica</i> , <i>La Montaña</i> (head of sports 1921-22), <i>La Ilustración Deportiva</i> (director)	1910s-1920s	AAF official in 1920s; President of Asociación Bancaria Argentina de Deportes (affiliated with AAF) (1921)	
Escobar Bavio, Ernesto	<i>La Argentina</i> , <i>La Nación</i> , <i>Crítica</i> , <i>La Mañana</i> , <i>Vida Moderna</i> , <i>Deportes</i> , <i>Fray Mocho</i> , <i>Sport Ilustrado</i>	1910s, 1920s	AAF official in 1920s; official and representative of Liga Paranense (Entre Ríos) in 1910s	Authors some of earliest published histories of Argentine soccer; also early radio commentator in early 1920s
Espinosa, Manuel "Manu"	<i>Libre Palabra</i>	1920s		
Fernández, A. L.	<i>La Prensa</i>	1920s		
Fernández, Ignacio	<i>El Argentino</i>	1925		

APPENDIX A: KNOWN ARGENTINE SPORTS JOURNALISTS AND INSTITUTIONAL TIES, 1912-1931

<b><u>Reporters</u></b>	<b><u>Publications</u></b>	<b><u>Year(s) Active</u></b>	<b><u>Institutional Ties</u></b>	<b><u>Other</u></b>
Fiore, Pedro	<i>El Gráfico</i>	1922		Notable auto racing reporter
Frascara, Felix D.	<i>La República, Última Hora, El Gráfico</i>	1920s-1930s		Early radio commentator
Gabriel, José	<i>La Nación; La Prensa</i>	1920s		Essayist and writer. Spanish-born.
Galán, Calixto	<i>La Nación</i>	1920s		
García, Carlos Julio	<i>El Orden</i>	1910s		First sports writer in Tucumán
Gil, Luis	<i>El Norte Argentino</i> (Tucumán)	1920s	AAF referee; AAF official (1920)	Former player
Gómez, Angel	<i>Última Hora</i>	1928		
González, Salustiano	<i>La Nación, La Mañana</i> (head of sports 1919-1921), <i>El Mundo</i> (head of sports 1928-1947)	1910s-1940s	FC Puan founder (1907); official in Federación Comercial de Football (1914-1917)	Notable basketball reporter. Pseudonym Agustin Selza Lozano.
Grinspan, Santiago	<i>La Argentina</i> (head of sports), <i>La Calle</i> (head of sports)	1920s, 1930s		Played for Barracas Central (BA) in 1910s
Guzmán, Juan Almeyda	<i>La Nación</i>		Official for Gimnasia y Esgrima	

APPENDIX A: KNOWN ARGENTINE SPORTS JOURNALISTS AND INSTITUTIONAL TIES, 1912-1931

<u>Reporters</u>	<u>Publications</u>	<u>Year(s) Active</u>	<u>Institutional Ties</u>	<u>Other</u>
			(Buenos Aires)	
Imperiale, Aníbal J.	<i>El Telégrafo</i>	1920s		Notable boxing reporter. Also professional tango lyricist.
Levillier, Roberto	<i>El País</i> (head of sports)	1901		First-ever sports writer in Argentine press. Later historian and diplomat.
López Pájaro, José	<i>La Cancha</i> (director), <i>La República</i> (1926-1935)	1920s-1940s		Founded Círculo de Periodistas Deportivos in 1941. Radio commentator.
Lorenzo, Ricardo	<i>El Gráfico</i> ("Borocotó")	1927 - 1950s		Radio commentator.
Marini, Hugo	<i>Crítica</i> (head of sports after 1922), <i>La Cancha</i> , <i>La República</i> (head of sports)	1920s-1930s		
Martínez, Salvador	<i>Los Principios</i> (Córdoba) (head of sports)	1910s-1930s	Official for Liga Cordobesa; president of Belgrano (Córdoba)	
Mas, Carlos	<i>Los Principios</i> , <i>La</i>	1920s	AAmF official and referee	



APPENDIX A: KNOWN ARGENTINE SPORTS JOURNALISTS AND INSTITUTIONAL TIES, 1912-1931

<u>Reporters</u>	<u>Publications</u>	<u>Year(s) Active</u>	<u>Institutional Ties</u>	<u>Other</u>
	<i>Argentina, La Calle</i>			
Mastropaolo, Arturo A.	<i>La Razón</i>	1920s		
Molinari, Pedro J.	<i>El Combate</i> (Barracas del Sur), <i>La Verdad</i> (Avellaneda), <i>La Opinión</i> (Avellaneda) (director)	1903-1920s	Racing president. Represents Racing in AAF, AAmF, and AAAF (1917-1927)	
Muñoz, Jorge J.	<i>La República</i> (head of sports)	1922-1942		Player for Porteño and Sportivo Palermo (BA)
Murell, Esteban	<i>Crítica</i>	1920s	Liga Tucumana delegate to AAF (1922)	
Orieta, Pedro	<i>El Pueblo</i> (Santiago del Estero)	1927		
Oteriño, Felipe	<i>Sport Ilustrado</i>	1922		
Palacio Zino, Antonio	<i>Última Hora</i> , <i>Crítica</i> ("Mister Bull") (head of sports) through 1922, <i>Mister Bull</i> (founder and director)	1910s, 1920s		Former player in early 1900s
Pascual, Juan	<i>Tribuna</i> (Rosario)	1909-1950s		

APPENDIX A: KNOWN ARGENTINE SPORTS JOURNALISTS AND INSTITUTIONAL TIES, 1912-1931

<b><u>Reporters</u></b>	<b><u>Publications</u></b>	<b><u>Year(s) Active</u></b>	<b><u>Institutional Ties</u></b>	<b><u>Other</u></b>
Paz, Rubén	<i>La Calle</i>	1928		
Pérez Turner, Miguel	<i>La Gaceta</i> (Tucumán) (sports section founder and head), <i>Crítica</i> (Tucumán correspondent), <i>La Argentina</i> (Tucumán correspondent)	1910s-1930s	Vicepresident of Liga Tucumana in 1922	
Piotto, Ernesto	<i>La Época</i> (head of sports)	1920s		
Pizarello, Placido	<i>La Unión</i> (head of sports); <i>Última Hora</i>	1910s-1920s		
Reisse, Vicente J.	<i>La Prensa</i>	1920s		Notable polo reporter
Robles, Jorge	<i>La Cancha</i>	1929-1930		
Rodríguez Bolaño, M.	<i>La Capital</i> (Rosario)	1920s		
Rojas Paz, Pablo	<i>Crítica</i> ("Negro de la Tribuna")	1910s		Author and essayist of note
Rossi, Alfredo Enrique	<i>La Prensa</i> (head of sports), <i>El Gráfico</i> ("Chantecler")	1920s	Represents Independiente de Avellaneda in AAF (1918) and in AAmF (1926)	
Rubio, Emilio	<i>La Nación</i> (1923-1932)	1920s-1940s		

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<b><u>Reporters</u></b>	<b><u>Publications</u></b>	<b><u>Year(s) Active</u></b>	<b><u>Institutional Ties</u></b>	<b><u>Other</u></b>
Saccone, Victorio Aníbal	<i>El Orden</i>	1920s	Represents Central Norte (Tucumán) in AAAF	Former player
Sáenz, Máximo	<i>La Razón</i> ("Half Time"), <i>Crítica</i> ("Last Reason"), <i>El Gráfico</i> ; <i>La Nación</i> ("A Rienda Suelta")	1920s		
Salazar Altamira, Guillermo	<i>La Nación</i> ("Dinty Moore")	1910s-1920s		Also spelled Zalazar
Sanabria, Gabino	<i>La Cancha</i>	1929-1930		
Sanguinetti, Florentino V.	<i>El Mensajero</i> (Rosario), <i>La Argentina</i> , <i>La Mañana</i>	1900s-1920s		University reformer; medical doctor; first president of Círculo de Cronistas Deportivos (1912)
Saporiti, Leandro N.	<i>El Liberal</i> (Santiago del Estero) (correspondent in Buenos Aires), <i>El Litoral</i> (Santa Fe) (correspondent in Buenos Aires), <i>La Voz del Interior</i> (Córdoba) (correspondent in Buenos Aires)	1920s		

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<u>Reporters</u>	<u>Publications</u>	<u>Year(s) Active</u>	<u>Institutional Ties</u>	<u>Other</u>
Talaraúa Kendall, Ildefonso R.	<i>La Razón</i>	1920s		
Torrado, Enrique J.	<i>La Acción; Libre Palabra</i>	1920s	Represents Federacion de Football de Mercedes (San Luis) in AAAF (1927)	
Vargas Nievas, Juan	<i>La Gaceta</i> (Tucumán); <i>Vida Deportiva</i>	1913-1930s		
Vázquez, Rodolfo J.	<i>Crónica</i> (Rosario)	1922	Delegate of Liga Rosarina to AAF (1923)	
Valentini, Héctor Raúl	<i>Crítica</i>	1920s		
Weissmann, Ernesto	<i>La Razón</i>	1920s		
Yonco, Bolino	<i>El Día</i>	1925		

Sources: Benejam, *Historia del fútbol tucumano* (1950); *La Cancha*; Carlini, *Anuario del fútbol argentino* (1954); Chaponick, ed., *Historia del fútbol argentino* (1955); *Crítica*, *El Gráfico*, *Mister Bull*, *El Orden* [Tucumán]; *La República*.

All authors Argentine unless noted otherwise. All publications based in Buenos Aires unless noted otherwise. Known pseudonyms of writers included after publication titles.

# APPENDIX B: RÍO DE LA PLATA IN INTERNATIONAL COMPETITION

## NO. 1: FOREIGN TEAMS IN ARGENTINA, 1912-1931

<u>Visiting Team</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Opponent</u>	<u>Result</u>	<u>Place</u>
Sport Club Americano (São Paulo)	8/10/1913	Argentina combined	BRA 2-0	Buenos Aires
Sport Club Americano	8/15/1913	Uruguay combined	URU 2-1	Montevideo
Sport Club Americano	8/17/1913	Argentina combined	ARG 2-0	Buenos Aires
Sport Club Americano	8/24/1913	Uruguay combined	URU 2-0	Montevideo
Sport Club Americano	8/26/1913	Uruguay combined	URU 4-2	Montevideo
Exeter City (England)	6/14/1914	North Buenos Aires (combined)	ARG 1-0	Buenos Aires
Exeter City	6/21/1914	South Buenos Aires (combined)	ENG 3-0	Buenos Aires
Exeter City	6/24/1914	Racing	ENG 2-0	Buenos Aires
Exeter City	6/28/1914	Rosario combined	ENG 3-1	Rosario
Exeter City	6/29/1914	Argentina combined	ENG 5-0	Buenos Aires
Exeter City	7/9/1914	Argentina combined	ENG 3-0	Buenos Aires
Exeter City	7/12/1914	Argentina combined	ENG 3-1	Buenos Aires
Torino (Italy)	8/30/1914	Argentina combined	ARG 2-1	Buenos Aires
Torino	September of 1914	Racing	ARG 1-0	Buenos Aires
Torino	9/6/1914	Argentina combined	ITA 2-1	Buenos Aires
Federación Guipuzcoana (Spain)	7/16/1922	Argentina combined	ARG 4-0	Buenos Aires
Federación Guipuzcoana	July of 1922	Buenos Aires combined	TIE 1-1	Buenos Aires

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## NO. 1: FOREIGN TEAMS IN ARGENTINA, 1912-1931

Federación Guipuzcoana	7/30/1922	"Interior" leagues combined	ESP 4-0	Buenos Aires
Federación Guipuzcoana	July of 1922	Rosario combined	ARG 2-1	Buenos Aires
Teplitzer FK (Czechoslovakia)	8/6/1922	Argentina combined	TIE 1-1	Buenos Aires
Teplitzer FK	8/13/1922	Argentina combined	TIE 1-1	Buenos Aires
Teplitzer FK	8/20/1922	Argentina combined	TIE 3-3	Buenos Aires
Teplitzer FK	9/3/1922	Argentina combined	CZE 6-3	Buenos Aires
Teplitzer FK	9/7/1922	Argentina combined	ARG 3-1	Buenos Aires
Paraguay combined team	7/27/1922	Corrientes combined		Corrientes
Paraguay combined team	8/27/1922	Belgrano	ARG 2-1	Córdoba
Paraguay combined team	8/30/1922	Talleres	TIE 0-0	Córdoba
Paraguay combined team	8/6/1922	Unión (Santa Fe)	PAR 3-2	Santa Fe
Paraguay combined team	08/13/1922	Paraná combined		Paraná
Paraguay combined team	08/15/1922	Paraná combined		Paraná
Paraguay combined team	09/04/1922	Tucumán combined		Tucumán
Third Lanark (Glasgow, Scotland)	6/10/1923	North Buenos Aires (combined)	ARG 1-0	Buenos Aires
Third Lanark	6/17/1923	South Buenos Aires (combined)	SCO 3-1	Buenos Aires
Third Lanark	6/24/1923	Asoc. Amateurs (AAmF) combined	TIE 1-1	Buenos Aires
Third Lanark	6/29/1923	Independiente	ARG 2-1	Buenos Aires
Third Lanark	7/1/1923	“Provincias” combined	SCO 3-2	Buenos Aires

# APPENDIX B: RÍO DE LA PLATA IN INTERNATIONAL COMPETITION

## NO. 1: FOREIGN TEAMS IN ARGENTINA, 1912-1931

Third Lanark	7/8/1923	Argentina/Uruguay combined	SCO 2-1	Buenos Aires
Third Lanark	7/9/1923	Argentina combined	ARG – ?	Buenos Aires
Genoa Cricket and Football Club (Italy)	8/19/1923	North Buenos Aires (combined)	ARG 2-1	Buenos Aires
Genoa Cricket and Football Club	9/2/1923	South Buenos Aires (combined)	ITA 1-0	Buenos Aires
Genoa Cricket and Football Club	9/9/1923	Argentina combined	TIE 1-1	Buenos Aires
Plymouth Argyle (England)	6/22/1924	Buenos Aires combined	ENG 1-0	Buenos Aires
Plymouth Argyle	6/29/1924	Asoc. Argentina (AAF) combined	ARG 3-0	Buenos Aires
Plymouth Argyle	7/6/1924	Liga Rosarina combined	TIE 0-0	Rosario
Plymouth Argyle	7/8/1924	Rosario combined	ARG 2-1	Buenos Aires
Plymouth Argyle	7/9/1924	Boca Juniors	TIE 0-0	Buenos Aires
Plymouth Argyle	7/13/1924	AAF combined	ENG 1-0	Buenos Aires
Plymouth Argyle	7/20/1924	AAF combined	ARG 1-0	Buenos Aires
Palestra Itália (São Paulo)	3/19/1925	AAF + AAmF combined	ARG 3-1	Buenos Aires
Palestra Itália	3/22/1925	AAF + AAmF combined	TIE 0-0	Buenos Aires
Real Club Deportivo Español (Barcelona)	6/27/1926	North Buenos Aires (combined)	ESP 1-0	Buenos Aires
Real Club Deportivo Español	7/4/1926	South Buenos Aires (combined)	TIE 1-1	Buenos Aires
Real Club Deportivo Español	7/9/1926	AAF combined	TIE 2-2	Buenos Aires
Real Club Deportivo Español	7/11/1926	Liga Rosarina combined	ARG 3-0	Rosario
Real Club Deportivo Español	7/22/1926	Pehuajó combined	ESP 1-0	Pehuajó

# APPENDIX B: RÍO DE LA PLATA IN INTERNATIONAL COMPETITION

## NO. 1: FOREIGN TEAMS IN ARGENTINA, 1912-1931

Real Club Deportivo Español	7/26/1926	Liga Rosarina combined	TIE 0-0	Buenos Aires
Real Club Deportivo Español	8/1/1926	Huracán	ARG 1-0	Buenos Aires
Association FC de Perú (combined)	11/7/1926	AAmF "A" combined	ARG 5-1	Buenos Aires
Association FC de Perú	11/11/1926	AAmF "B" combined	ARG 4-1	Buenos Aires
Association FC de Perú	11/14/1926	La Plata combined	ARG 3-1	La Plata
Association FC de Perú	11/21/2026	Santa Fe combined	TIE 1-1	Santa Fe
Association FC de Perú	11/25/1926	Santa Fe combined	PER 2-1	Santa Fe
Association FC de Perú	11/28/1926	Santa Fe combined	ARG 3-0	Santiago del Estero
Association FC de Perú	12/6/1926	Federación Tucumana combined	PER 3-2	Tucumán
Association FC de Perú	12/8/1926	Liga Salteña combined	ARG 2-1	Salta
Nacional (Asunción)	11/14/1926	Argentinos Juniors	NAC 1-0	Buenos Aires
Nacional	11/20/1926	Chacarita Juniors	PAR 4-1	Buenos Aires
Nacional	11/21/1926	Liga Sud combined	TIE 3-3	Bahía Blanca
Nacional	11/28/1926	Huracán	ARG 2-1	Buenos Aires
Real Madrid	7/9/1927	AAAF combined	TIE 0-0	Buenos Aires
Real Madrid	7/10/1927	AAAF combined	ARG 3-2	Buenos Aires
Colo Colo (Santiago)	7/14/1927	Boca Juniors	ARG 6-1	Buenos Aires
Real Madrid	7/16/1927	Boca Juniors	ESP 2-1	Buenos Aires



# APPENDIX B: RÍO DE LA PLATA IN INTERNATIONAL COMPETITION

## NO. 1: FOREIGN TEAMS IN ARGENTINA, 1912-1931

Real Madrid	7/17/1927	Newell's Old Boys	ARG 4-0	Rosario
Real Madrid	7/30/1927	Racing	ARG 2-0	Buenos Aires
Motherwell (Scotland)	5/13/1928	Buenos Aires combined	ARG 1-0	Buenos Aires
Motherwell	5/15/1928	BA Province combined	ARG 2-1	Buenos Aires
Motherwell	5/20/1928	Buenos Aires combined	ARG 3-2	Buenos Aires
Motherwell	5/25/1928	Liga Rosarina combined	SCO 4-3	Buenos Aires
Motherwell	6/2/1928	AAAF combined	SCO 3-0	Buenos Aires
Motherwell	6/3/1928	Argentina/Uruguay combined	SCO 3-0	Buenos Aires
Motherwell	6/5/1928	"Interior" leagues combined	SCO 4-1	Buenos Aires
Motherwell	6/7/1928	Liga Rosarina combined	SCP 3-2	Rosario
Motherwell	6/9/1928	Boca Juniors	ARG 2-0	Buenos Aires
Celta de Vigo	7/8/1928	AAAF combined	ESP 1-0	Buenos Aires
Celta de Vigo	7/9/1928	AAAF combined	ARG 8-0	Buenos Aires
Celta de Vigo	7/14/1928	AAAF combined	ARG 3-0	Buenos Aires
Celta de Vigo	7/29/1928	Liga Rosarina combined	ARG 1-0	Rosario
FC Barcelona	8/4/1928	AAAF combined	ARG 3-1	Buenos Aires
FC Barcelona	8/5/1928	AAAF combined	TIE 0-0	Buenos Aires
FC Barcelona	8/11/1928	Independiente	ARG 4-1	Buenos Aires
FC Barcelona	8/15/1928	AAAF combined	ARG 1-0	Buenos Aires

# APPENDIX B: RÍO DE LA PLATA IN INTERNATIONAL COMPETITION

## NO. 1: FOREIGN TEAMS IN ARGENTINA, 1912-1931

FC Barcelona	8/18/1928	Boca Juniors	ESP 2-1	Buenos Aires
FC Barcelona	8/19/1928	Liga Rosarina combined	ARG 4-0	Rosario
América FC (Río de Janeiro)	2/24/1929	AAAF "A" combined	ARG 6-1	Buenos Aires
América FC (Río de Janeiro)	3/3/1929	Estudiantes de la Plata	TIE 1-1	La Plata
América FC (Río de Janeiro)	3/6/1929	Ferrocarril Oeste	BRA 5-1	Buenos Aires
América FC (Río de Janeiro)	3/9/1929	AAAF "B"	TIE 1-1	Buenos Aires
América FC (Río de Janeiro)	3/16/1929	AAAF combined	ARG 2-0	Buenos Aires
Chelsea (England)	5/25/1929	Buenos Aires combined	ENG 3-2	Buenos Aires
Chelsea	5/26/1929	BA Province combined	ARG 4-0	Buenos Aires
Chelsea	5/30/1929	AAAF combined	ENG 1-0	Buenos Aires
Chelsea	6/2/1929	AAAF combined	ARG 3-2	Buenos Aires
Chelsea	6/8/1929	San Lorenzo	ENG 2-0	Buenos Aires
Chelsea	6/15/1929	Independiente	TIE 1-1	Buenos Aires
Chelsea	6/16/1929	Liga Rosarina combined	ARG 2-1	Rosario
Chelsea	6/16/1929	Unión (Santa Fe)	ARG 5-1	Santa Fe
Chelsea	6/20/1929	Racing	ARG 1-0	Buenos Aires
Chelsea	6/22/1929	Estudiantil Porteño	ENG 3-2	Buenos Aires
Torino (Italy)	7/28/1929	AAAF combined	ARG 1-0	Buenos Aires
Torino	8/3/1929	AAAF combined	TIE 0-0	Buenos Aires

# APPENDIX B: RÍO DE LA PLATA IN INTERNATIONAL COMPETITION

## NO. 1: FOREIGN TEAMS IN ARGENTINA, 1912-1931

Torino	8/4/1929	AAAF combined	ARG 4-1	Buenos Aires
Torino	8/8/1929	Estudiantes de la Plata	ARG 5-0	La Plata
Torino	8/10/1929	Independiente	ITA 2-1	Buenos Aires
Torino	8/15/1929	Liga Rosarina combined	ITA 4-2	Rosario
Torino	8/18/1929	Newell's Old Boys	ARG 2-0	Rosario
Ferencvaros FC (Hungary)	8/1/1929	River Plate	HUN 4-3	Buenos Aires
Ferencvaros FC	8/6/1929	Racing	HUN 2-1	Buenos Aires
Ferencvaros FC	8/10/1929	AAAF combined	ARG 2-0	Buenos Aires
Ferencvaros FC	8/13/1929	Racing	HUN 2-1	Buenos Aires
Bologna (Italy)	8/15/1929	AAAF combined	ARG 3-1	Buenos Aires
Bologna	8/18/1929	AAAF combined	TIE 0-0	Buenos Aires
Bologna	8/21/1929	Newell's Old Boys	ARG 2-1	Rosario
Bologna	8/24/1929	Huracán	ARG 2-1	Buenos Aires
Bologna	8/25/1929	Liga del Sud	ITA 2-1	Bahía Blanca
Bologna	8/27/1929	Boca Juniors	ARG 1-0	Buenos Aires
Bologna	8/30/1929	Estudiantes de la Plata	TIE 3-3	La Plata
Bologna-Estudiantil Porteño combined	8/31/1929	Independiente	ARG 1-0	Buenos Aires
Bologna	9/2/1929	Santa Fe combined	ARG 3-0	Santa Fe
Paraguay national team	11/19/1929	Gimnasia de la Plata	ARG 3-0	La Plata

# APPENDIX B: RÍO DE LA PLATA IN INTERNATIONAL COMPETITION

## NO. 1: FOREIGN TEAMS IN ARGENTINA, 1912-1931

Rampla Juniors (Uruguay)	4/17/1930	All Boys (Tucuman)	URU 4-0	Tucuman
Rampla Juniors	4/19/1930	Central Norte (Tucuman)	ARG 3-1	Tucuman
Rampla Juniors	4/20/1930	Federacion Tucumana	URU 2-0	Tucuman
Libertad (Asunción)	5/26/1930	Central Norte (Tucumán)	PAR 5-2	Tucumán
Libertad (Asunción)	5/29/1930	Federación Tucumana combined	ARG 4-1	Tucumán
Hakoah All-Stars (USA)	7/13/1930	AAAF	ARG 3-1	Buenos Aires
Hakoah All-Stars (USA)	7/14/1930	Rosario Central	TIE 1-1	Rosario
Hakoah All-Stars (USA)	7/20/1930	Newell's Old Boys	TIE 1-1	Rosario
Hakoah All-Stars (USA)	7/21/1930	Liga Rosarina	TIE 1-1	Rosario
Hakoah All-Stars (USA)	7/27/1930	Belgrano	TIE 1-1	Buenos Aires
Hakoah All-Stars (USA)	7/28/1930	La Plata combined	ARG 3-1	La Plata
Hakoah All-Stars (USA)	8/9/1930	Independiente de Avellaneda	TIE 0-0	Buenos Aires

# APPENDIX B: RÍO DE LA PLATA IN INTERNATIONAL COMPETITION

## NO. 2: ARGENTINE TEAMS ABROAD, 1908-1931

<u>Argentine team</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Opponent</u>	<u>Result</u>	<u>Place</u>
Argentina combined to Brazil	7/2/1908	São Paulo foreigners combined	TIE 2-2	São Paulo
Argentina combined to Brazil	7/5/1908	São Paulo foreigners combined	ARG 6-0	São Paulo
Argentina combined to Brazil	7/7/1908	São Paulo state combined	ARG 4-0	São Paulo
Argentina combined to Brazil	7/9/1908	Guanabara state combined	ARG 3-2	Rio de Janeiro
Argentina combined to Brazil	7/11/1908	Rio de Janeiro combined	ARG 7-1	Rio de Janeiro
Argentina combined to Brazil	7/12/1908	Rio de Janeiro league combined	ARG 3-0	Rio de Janeiro
Argentina combined to Brazil	7/14/1908	São Paulo-Santos combinado	ARG 6-1	Santos
Estudiantes of Buenos Aires to Brazil	9/7/1910	SC Rio Grande	ARG 4-0	Rio Grande
Estudiantes of Buenos Aires to Brazil	9/9/1910	Porte Alegre combined	ARG 7-3	Rio Grande
Estudiantes of Buenos Aires to Brazil	9/13/1910	SC Pelotas	ARG 7-0	Pelotas
Estudiantes of Buenos Aires to Brazil	9/18/1910	SC Rio Grande	ARG 5-0	Rio Grande
Argentina combined to Chile	9/13/1910	British of Chile combined	ARG 5-1	Viña del Mar
Argentina combined to Chile	9/18/1910	Valparaíso league combined	ARG 3-0	Valparaíso
Argentina combined to Chile	9/22/1910	Valparaíso league combined	ARG 5-0	Valparaíso
Argentina combined to Chile	9/25/1910	Valparaíso league combined	ARG 6-2	Valparaíso
Argentina combined to Brazil	9/4/1912	Paulistano	BRA 4-3	São Paulo

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## NO. 2: ARGENTINE TEAMS ABROAD, 1908-1931

<u>Argentine team</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Opponent</u>	<u>Result</u>	<u>Place</u>
Argentina combined to Brazil	9/5/1912	Americano	ARG 3-0	São Paulo
Argentina combined to Brazil	9/7/1912	São Paulo foreigners combined	ARG 6-3	São Paulo
Argentina combined to Brazil	9/8/1912	São Paulo state combined	ARG 6-3	São Paulo
Argentina combined to Brazil	9/12/1912	Rio de Janeiro combined	ARG 4-0	Rio de Janeiro
Argentina combined to Brazil	9/14/1912	British of Rio de Janeiro combined	ARG 9-1	Rio de Janeiro
Argentina combined to Brazil	9/16/1912	Guanabara state combined	ARG 5-0	Rio de Janeiro
Argentina combined to Chile	9/16/1913	Antofagasta league combined	ARG 3-0	Viña del Mar
Argentina combined to Chile	9/18/1913	Valparaíso league combined	ARG 2-1	Valparaíso
Argentina combined to Chile	9/19/1913	Santiago combined	ARG 4-2	Valparaíso
Argentina combined to Paraguay	5/11/1919	Asociación Paraguaya combined "B"	ARG 5-1	Asunción
Argentina combined to Paraguay	5/15/1919	Asociación Paraguaya combined "A"	ARG 3-0	Asunción
Argentina combined to Paraguay	5/21/1919	Asociación Paraguaya combined "A"	ARG 2-1	Asunción
Argentina combined to Paraguay	5/24/1919	Asociación Paraguaya combined	ARG 2-1	Asunción
Sportivo Palermo to Paraguay	April of 1921	Asociación Paraguaya combined	ARG 2-0	Asunción
Sportivo Palermo to Paraguay	April of 1921	Asociación Paraguaya combined	PAR 3-1	Asunción
Argentina combined to Paraguay	4/4/1921	Olimpia	ARG 2-0	Asuncion

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## NO. 2: ARGENTINE TEAMS ABROAD, 1908-1931

<u>Argentine team</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Opponent</u>	<u>Result</u>	<u>Place</u>
Argentina combined to Paraguay	4/10/1921	Guaraní	ARG 3-2	Asuncion
Argentina combined to Paraguay	4/15/1921	Libertad	TIE 2-2	Asuncion
Amateurs (AAmF) to Chile	9/18/1921	Santiago combined	ARG 3-1	Santiago
Amateurs (AAmF) to Chile	9/19/1921	Valparaíso league combined	ARG 3-1	Valparaíso
Amateurs (AAmF) to Chile	9/26/1921	Chile combined	ARG 4-1	Valparaíso
Amateurs (AAmF) to Chile	10/2/1921	Chile combined	TIE 1-1	Santiago
Amateurs (AAmF) to Chile	10/4/1921	Los Andes league combined	ARG 5-0	Los Andes
Amateurs (AAmF) to Chile	10/6/1921	Mendoza league combined	ARG-Aamf 5-0	Mendoza
Talleres (Córdoba) to Chile	September 1923	Valparaíso league combined	ARG 2-0	Valparaiso
Talleres (Córdoba) to Chile	September 1923	Santiago combined	ARG 5-1	Santiago
Talleres (Córdoba) to Chile	September 1923	Santiago combined	ARG 7-2	Santiago
Talleres (Córdoba) to Chile	September 1923	Santiago combined	CHI 2-0	Santiago
Boca Juniors to Europe	3/5/1925	Celta de Vigo	ARG 3-1	Vigo
Boca Juniors to Europe	3/8/1925	Celta de Vigo	ESP 3-1	Vigo
Boca Juniors to Europe	3/12/1925	Real Deportivo de La Coruña	ARG 3-0	La Coruña
Boca Juniors to Europe	3/15/1925	Real Deportivo de La Coruña	ARG 1-0	La Coruña
Boca Juniors to Europe	3/19/1925	Atletico Madrid	ARG 2-1	Madrid

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## NO. 2: ARGENTINE TEAMS ABROAD, 1908-1931

<u>Argentine team</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Opponent</u>	<u>Result</u>	<u>Place</u>
Boca Juniors to Europe	3/22/1925	Real Madrid	ARG 1-0	Madrid
Boca Juniors to Europe	3/29/1925	Gimnastica	ARG 1-0	Madrid
Boca Juniors to Europe	4/2/1925	Real de Irún	ESP 4-0	Irun
Boca Juniors to Europe	4/5/1925	Athletic Bilbao	ESP 4-2	Bilbao
Boca Juniors to Europe	4/19/1925	Club Osasuna	ARG 1-0	Pamplona
Boca Juniors to Europe	4/26/1925	Real Club Deportivo Español	ARG 1-0	Barcelona
Boca Juniors to Europe	5/1/1925	Real Club Deportivo Español	ARG 3-0	Barcelona
Boca Juniors to Europe	5/3/1925	Catalunya combined	ARG 2-0	Barcelona
Boca Juniors to Europe	5/9/1925	Bayern	TIE 1-1	Munich
Boca Juniors to Europe	5/16/1925	Nordennordest	ARG 3-0	Berlin
Boca Juniors in Europe	5/21/1925	Vereinnigung	ARG 7-0	Leipzig
Boca Juniors in Europe	5/24/1925	Frankfurt combined	ARG 2-0	Frankfurt
Boca Juniors in Europe	5/27/1925	Eintracht	ARG 2-0	Frankfurt
Boca Juniors in Europe	6/7/1925	Paris combined	ARG 4-2	Paris
Amateurs (AAmF) to Chile	6/7/1925	Santiago combined	TIE 1-1	Santiago
Amateurs (AAmF) to Chile	6/11/1925	Valparaíso league combined	ARG 5-0	Viña del Mar
Amateurs (AAmF) to Chile	6/14/1925	Santiago-Valparaíso combined	TIE 0-0	Viña del Mar



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## NO. 2: ARGENTINE TEAMS ABROAD, 1908-1931

<u>Argentine team</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Opponent</u>	<u>Result</u>	<u>Place</u>
Amateurs (AAmF) to Chile	6/18/1925	Club de Deportes Everton	ARG 5-0	Viña del Mar
Amateurs (AAmF) to Chile	6/21/1925	Santiago-Valparaíso combined	ARG 3-0	Santiago
Amateurs (AAmF) to Chile	6/23/1925	Los Andes league combined	ARG 7-1	Los Andes
Huracán to Paraguay	4/8/1926	Olimpia	PAR 4-2	Asuncion
Huracán to Paraguay	4/11/1926	Paraguay combined team	TIE 2-2	Asuncion
Huracán to Paraguay	4/15/1926	Paraguay combined team	TIE 0-0	Asuncion
Progresista to Peru	7/18/1926	Club Deportivo Nacional	ARG 3-1	Lima
Progresista to Peru	7/25/1926	Sporting Tarapaca	ARG 2-1	Lima
Progresista to Peru	7/28/1926	Alianza	ARG 2-0	Lima
Progresista to Peru	8/8/1926	Circolo Sportivo Italiano	PER 2-1	Lima
Progresista to Peru	8/15/1926	Atlético Chalaco	TIE 2-2	Lima
Progresista to Peru	8/22/1926	Alianza-Deportivo Nacional combined	ARG 5-1	Lima
Progresista to Peru	8/30/1926	Atlético Chalaco	ARG 2-1	Lima
Progresista to Peru	9/5/1926	Real Club Deportivo Español	TIE 1-1	Lima
Progresista to Peru	9/12/1926	Atlético Chalaco-Cir. Sp. Italiano combined	PER 1-0	Lima
Amateurs to Brazil	11/7/1926	São Paulo combined "B"	ARG 5-1	São Paulo
Amateurs to Brazil	11/14/1926	São Paulo combined "A"	ARG 2-1	São Paulo

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## NO. 2: ARGENTINE TEAMS ABROAD, 1908-1931

<u>Argentine team</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Opponent</u>	<u>Result</u>	<u>Place</u>
Amateurs to Brazil	11/15/1926	Rio Claro league combined	ARG 3-2	Rio Claro
Amateurs to Brazil	11/21/1926	Santos league combined	ARG 7-3	Santos
Amateurs to Brazil	11/28/1926	São Paulo combined "A"	ARG 5-2	Rio de Janeiro
Federación Santafecina to Paraguay	05/14/27	Paraguay combined	TIE 1-1	Asunción
Federación Santafecina to Paraguay	05/15/27	Olimpia	ARG 3-1	Asunción
Federación Santafecina to Paraguay	May of 1927	Nacional	TIE 1-1	Asunción
Tiro Federal (Rosario) to Paraguay	10/12/1928	Paraguay combined	ARG 3-2	Asunción
Sportivo Barracas to Europe	January of 1929	Rio de Janeiro combined	ARG 3-2	Rio de Janeiro
Sportivo Barracas to Europe	1/4/1929	Vasco da Gama	TIE 0-0	Rio de Janeiro
Sportivo Barracas to Europe	1/6/1929	Brazil national team	BRA 5-3	Rio de Janeiro
Sportivo Barracas to Europe	1/8/1929	Rio de Janeiro-São Paulo combined	BRA 2-0	Rio de Janeiro
Sportivo Barracas to Europe	1/27/1929	Portugal national team	ARG 3-2	Lisboa
Sportivo Barracas to Europe	2/2/1929	FC Barcelona	ESP 2-1	Barcelona
Sportivo Barracas to Europe	2/7/1929	Catalunya combined	ESP 3-2	Barcelona
Sportivo Barracas to Europe	2/10/1929	Torino	ITA 2-1	Turin

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## NO. 2: ARGENTINE TEAMS ABROAD, 1908-1931

<u>Argentine team</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Opponent</u>	<u>Result</u>	<u>Place</u>
Sportivo Barracas to Europe	2/12/1929	Juventus	ITA 4-1	Turin
Sportivo Barracas to Europe	2/17/1929	Genova	TIE 1-1	Genova
Sportivo Barracas to Europe	2/24/1929	Milan	ARG 2-1	Milan
Sportivo Barracas to Europe	2/28/1929	Toscana combined	ARG 4-1	Florenzia
Sportivo Barracas to Europe	3/3/1929	Roma	ITA 2-1	Rome
Sportivo Barracas to Europe	3/7/1929	Napoli	ARG 1-0	Napoli
Sportivo Barracas to Europe	3/10/1929	Lazio	ARG 2-0	Rome
Sportivo Barracas to Europe	3/17/1929	FC Barcelona-Deportivo Alavés combined	ARG 2-1	Barcelona
Sportivo Barracas to Europe	3/19/1929	Valencia	TIE 2-2	Valencia
Sportivo Barracas to Europe	3/24/1929	Oporto combined	ARG 5-3	Oporto
Sportivo Barracas to Europe	3/31/1929	Portugal national team	ARG 2-0	Oporto
Sportivo Barracas to Europe	4/1/1929	Oporto combined	ARG 4-1	Oporto
Sportivo Barracas to Europe	4/21/1929	Palestra Itália	TIE 2-2	São Paulo
Sportivo Barracas to Europe	4/24/1929	Santos	BRA 1-0	Santos
Sportivo Barracas to Europe	April of 1929	São Paulo combined	BRA 3-0	São Paulo
Sportivo Barracas to Europe	5/3/1929	Palestra Itália	ARG 2-0	São Paulo
Sportivo Barracas to Europe	May of 1929	Combinado Santos-São Paulo	ARG 1-0	São Paulo

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## NO. 2: ARGENTINE TEAMS ABROAD, 1908-1931

<u>Argentine team</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Opponent</u>	<u>Result</u>	<u>Place</u>
Sportivo Palermo to Paraguay	August of 1929	Liga Paraguaya	PAR 4-1	Asuncion
Sportivo Palermo to Paraguay	August of 1929	Olimpia	TIE 2-2	Asuncion
Sportivo Palermo to Paraguay	August of 1929	Liga Paraguaya	PAR 1-0	Asuncion
Sportivo Palermo to Paraguay	August of 1929	Libertad	ARG 2-1	Asuncion
Atlético Tucumán to Peru/Bolivia	12/22/29	Sporting Tarapaca	ARG 4-2	Peru
Atlético Tucumán to Peru/Bolivia	12/24/29	Escuela Hidroavión	ARG 4-1	Peru
Atlético Tucumán to Peru/Bolivia	12/29/29	Universitarios combined	PER 3-2	Peru
Atlético Tucumán to Peru/Bolivia	01/02/30	Peru combined	ARG 3-1	Peru
Atlético Tucumán to Peru/Bolivia	01/05/30	Chalaco combined	ARG 3-1	Peru
Atlético Tucumán to Peru/Bolivia	01/10/30	Sportivo Buenos Aires	ARG-SBA 8-2	Peru
Atlético Tucumán to Peru/Bolivia	01/19/30	Universitarios combined	TIE 0-0	Peru
Atlético Tucumán to Peru/Bolivia	01/26/30	Sporting Tarapaca	TIE 2-2	Peru
Atlético Tucumán to Peru/Bolivia	02/06/30	Atlético Chalaco-Cir. Sp. Italiano combined	PER 3-2	Peru
Atlético Tucumán to Peru/Bolivia	02/09/30	Alianza Lima	PER 3-0	Peru
Atlético Tucumán to Peru/Bolivia	02/17/30	Arequipa FC	ARG 3-2	Peru
Atlético Tucumán to Peru/Bolivia	02/23/30	Bolivia combined	ARG 3-1	Bolivia

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## NO. 2: ARGENTINE TEAMS ABROAD, 1908-1931

<u>Argentine team</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Opponent</u>	<u>Result</u>	<u>Place</u>
Sportivo Buenos Aires to Americas	12/23/1929	Colo-Colo	CHI 4-3	Santiago
Sportivo Buenos Aires to Americas	1929	Colo-Colo	ARG 1-0	Santiago
Sportivo Buenos Aires to Americas	1929	Valparaíso combined	ARG 5-1	Valparaíso
Sportivo Buenos Aires to Americas	1929	Antofagasta combined	ARG 3-0	Antofagasta
Sportivo Buenos Aires to Americas	1929	Peru combined	ARG 3-1	Peru
Sportivo Buenos Aires to Americas	1929	Atlético Tucuman	ARG-SBA 8-2	Lima
Sportivo Buenos Aires to Americas	1929	Atlético Chalaco	ARG 2-1	Peru
Sportivo Buenos Aires to Americas	1929	Peru combined	TIE 2-2	Peru
Sportivo Buenos Aires to Americas	1930	Necaxa	ARG 4-0	Mexico
Sportivo Buenos Aires to Americas	1930	Asturias	ARG 6-0	Mexico
Sportivo Buenos Aires to Americas	2/16/1930	América	ARG 1-0	Mexico
Sportivo Buenos Aires to Americas	2/20/1930	Atlante	MEX 2-1	Mexico
Sportivo Buenos Aires to Americas	1930	España de Mexico	ARG 3-0	Mexico
Sportivo Buenos Aires to Americas	1930	América	ARG 3-1	Mexico
Sportivo Buenos Aires to Americas	1930	España de Mexico	ARG 4-1	Mexico
Sportivo Buenos Aires to Americas	3/9/1930	Atlante	ARG 3-2	Mexico
Sportivo Buenos Aires to Americas	1930	Hakoa All-Star	USA 2-1	United States

# APPENDIX B: RÍO DE LA PLATA IN INTERNATIONAL COMPETITION

## NO. 2: ARGENTINE TEAMS ABROAD, 1908-1931

<u>Argentine team</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Opponent</u>	<u>Result</u>	<u>Place</u>
Sportivo Buenos Aires to Americas	3/27/1930	Rio de Janeiro combined	BRA 5-2	Rio de Janeiro
Sportivo Buenos Aires to Americas	3/28/1930	São Paulo combined	BRA 8-1	São Paulo
Sportivo Buenos Aires to Americas	3/29/1930	Hispanha	BRA 3-2	Santos
Federación Tucumana to Brazil	1/5/1930	Rio de Janeiro combined	BRA 3-2	Rio de Janeiro
Federación Tucumana to Brazil	1/12/1930	América	ARG 6-2	Rio de Janeiro
Federación Tucumana to Brazil	1/19/1930	Vasco da Gama	TIE 1-1	Rio de Janeiro
Federación Tucumana to Brazil	1/23/1930	Rio de Janeiro combined	TIE 3-3	Rio de Janeiro
Federación Tucumana to Brazil	1/26/1930	Palestra Itália	BRA 4-1	São Paulo
Federación Tucumana to Brazil	1/30/1930	São Paulo combined	BRA 5-2	São Paulo
Federación Tucumana to Brazil	2/2/1930	Corinthians	BRA 7-2	São Paulo
Federación Tucumana to Brazil	2/6/1930	Santos	TIE 2-2	Santos
Federación Tucumana to Brazil	2/9/1930	Santos	BRA 4-1	Santos
Huracán to Brazil	7/13/1930	Corinthians	BRA 4-2	São Paulo
Huracán to Brazil	7/17/1930	Portuguesa-Guarani combined	ARG 6-3	São Paulo
Huracán to Brazil	7/20/1930	Palestra Itália	BRA 2-1	São Paulo

# APPENDIX B: RÍO DE LA PLATA IN INTERNATIONAL COMPETITION

## NO. 2: ARGENTINE TEAMS ABROAD, 1908-1931

<u>Argentine team</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Opponent</u>	<u>Result</u>	<u>Place</u>
Huracán to Brazil	7/24/1930	Santos	BRA 4-1	Santos
Huracán to Brazil	7/27/1930	Rio de Janeiro combined	TIE 2-2	Rio de Janeiro
Huracán to Brazil	7/31/1930	Vasco da Gama	BRA 5-1	Rio de Janeiro
Huracán to Brazil	8/3/1930	Rio de Janeiro combined	TIE 4-4	Rio de Janeiro
Vélez Sarsfield to Americas	11/30/1930	Colo-Colo	ARG 4-2	Santiago
Vélez Sarsfield to Americas	12/7/1930	Valparaíso combined	ARG 3-1	Valparaíso
Vélez Sarsfield to Americas	12/8/1930	Colo-Colo	TIE 2-2	Santiago
Vélez Sarsfield to Americas	12/13/1931	Everton	ARG 1-0	Valparaíso
Vélez Sarsfield to Americas	12/20/1930	Universidad de Lima	ARG 5-3	Lima
Vélez Sarsfield to Americas	1/1/1931	Juventud Asturiana	ARG 3-1	Havana
Vélez Sarsfield to Americas	1/4/1931	Fortuna	ARG 6-0	Havana
Vélez Sarsfield to Americas	1/11/1931	Sportivo Centro Gallego	ARG 3-0	Havana
Vélez Sarsfield to Americas	1/18/1931	Germania	ARG 3-1	Mexico City
Vélez Sarsfield to Americas	1/25/1931	Marte	ARG 5-3	Mexico City
Vélez Sarsfield to Americas	2/1/1931	Atlante	TIE 1-1	Mexico City
Vélez Sarsfield to Americas	2/5/1931	Asturias	ARG 4-1	Mexico City

# APPENDIX B: RÍO DE LA PLATA IN INTERNATIONAL COMPETITION

## NO. 2: ARGENTINE TEAMS ABROAD, 1908-1931

<u>Argentine team</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Opponent</u>	<u>Result</u>	<u>Place</u>
Vélez Sarsfield to Americas	2/8/1931	Atlante	ARG 4-2	Mexico City
Vélez Sarsfield to Americas	2/21/1931	New York City combined	ARG 3-1	New York City
Vélez Sarsfield to Americas	2/22/1931	Fall River	USA 5-2	Fall River
Vélez Sarsfield to Americas	2/25/1931	Hakoah All-Stars	ARG 3-1	New York City
Vélez Sarsfield to Americas	3/3/1931	Juventud Asturiana	TIE 1-1	Havana
Vélez Sarsfield to Americas	3/15/1931	Alianza Lima	TIE 1-1	Lima
Vélez Sarsfield to Americas	3/19/1931	Huacho combined	ARG 9-0	Lima
Vélez Sarsfield to Americas	3/23/1931	Alianza Lima	ARG 2-1	Lima
Vélez Sarsfield to Americas	3/29/1931	Atlético Chalaco	ARG 7-1	Lima
Vélez Sarsfield to Americas	4/2/1931	Universidad de Lima	ARG 3-0	Lima
Vélez Sarsfield to Americas	4/5/1931	Alianza Lima	TIE 3-3	Lima
Vélez Sarsfield to Americas	4/15/1931	Valparaíso combined	ARG 3-0	Valparaíso
Vélez Sarsfield to Americas	4/22/1931	Colo-Colo	ARG 3-2	Santiago
Gimnasia de la Plata to Europe	12/13/1930	Vasco da Gama	TIE 1-1	Rio de Janeiro
Gimnasia de la Plata to Europe	12/17/1930	Rio de Janeiro combined	BRA 4-0	Rio de Janeiro



# APPENDIX B: RÍO DE LA PLATA IN INTERNATIONAL COMPETITION

## NO. 2: ARGENTINE TEAMS ABROAD, 1908-1931

<u>Argentine team</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Opponent</u>	<u>Result</u>	<u>Place</u>
Gimnasia de la Plata to Europe	1/1/1931	Real Madrid	ARG 3-2	Madrid
Gimnasia de la Plata to Europe	1/6/1931	Barcelona	ARG 2-1	Barcelona
Gimnasia de la Plata to Europe	1/11/1931	Marino FC	ARG 3-1	Las Palmas
Gimnasia de la Plata to Europe	1/15/1931	Real Victoria	ARG 2-1	Las Palmas
Gimnasia de la Plata to Europe	1/18/1931	Real Victoria	TIE 1-1	Las Palmas
Gimnasia de la Plata to Europe	1/23/1931	Marino FC	ARG 4-0	Las Palmas
Gimnasia de la Plata to Europe	1/25/1931	Real Victoria	ESP 2-0	Las Palmas
Gimnasia de la Plata to Europe	1/31/1931	Red Star	FRA 2-0	Paris
Gimnasia de la Plata to Europe	2/2/1931	Berlin combined	GER 6-3	Berlin
Gimnasia de la Plata to Europe	2/8/1931	TSV 1860 Munich	TIE 1-1	Frankfurt
Gimnasia de la Plata to Europe	2/15/1931	TSV 1860 Munich	ARG 4-0	Munich
Gimnasia de la Plata to Europe	2/21/1931	Chemnitzer Polizeisportverein	ARG 4-2	Chemnitz
Gimnasia de la Plata to Europe	2/22/1931	VfB Leipzig	TIE 0-0	Leipzig
Gimnasia de la Plata to Europe	2/28/1931	Dusseldorf combined	ARG 2-1	Leipzig
Gimnasia de la Plata to Europe	3/1/1931	Tennis Borussia Berlin	GER 2-1	Berlin
Gimnasia de la Plata to Europe	3/4/1931	VfB Leipzig	ARG 3-1	Leipzig
Gimnasia de la Plata to Europe	3/8/1931	Sparta	ARG 3-1	Prague
Gimnasia de la Plata to Europe	3/12/1931	Rapid Wien	AUS 2-1	Vienna

# APPENDIX B: RÍO DE LA PLATA IN INTERNATIONAL COMPETITION

## NO. 2: ARGENTINE TEAMS ABROAD, 1908-1931

<u>Argentine team</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Opponent</u>	<u>Result</u>	<u>Place</u>
Gimnasia de la Plata to Europe	3/15/1931	Ambrosiana	TIE 3-3	Milan
Gimnasia de la Plata to Europe	3/19/1931	Napoli	TIE 2-2	Naples
Gimnasia de la Plata to Europe	3/25/1931	Barcelona	ESP 3-0	Barcelona
Gimnasia de la Plata to Europe	3/29/1931	Benfica	ARG 1-0	Lisbon
Gimnasia de la Plata to Europe	4/14/1931	Vasco da Gama/América combined	BRA 3-2	Rio de Janeiro
Gimnasia de la Plata to Europe	4/16/1931	Corinthians	TIE 0-0	São Paulo
Gimnasia de la Plata to Europe	4/23/1931	Palestra Itália/Esporte Clube Sírio combined	BRA 1-0	São Paulo
Central Norte (Tucumán) to Paraguay	03/15/31	Libertad	ARG 4-2	Asunción
Central Norte (Tucumán) to Paraguay	03/19/31	Cerro Porteño	TIE 3-3	Asunción
Central Norte (Tucumán) to Paraguay	03/22/31	Olimpia	PAR 6-4	Asunción

# APPENDIX B: RÍO DE LA PLATA IN INTERNATIONAL COMPETITION

## NO. 3: ARGENTINE OFFICIAL NATIONAL TEAM GAMES, 1905-1931

<u>Date</u>	<u>Opponent</u>	<u>Competition</u>	<u>Result</u>	<u>Place</u>	<u>Comments</u>
8/15/1905	Uruguay	Copa Lipton	TIE 0-0	Buenos Aires	
8/15/1906	Uruguay	Copa Lipton	ARG 2-0	Montevideo	
10/21/1906	Uruguay	Copa Newton	ARG 2-1	Montevideo	
8/15/1907	Uruguay	Copa Lipton	ARG 2-1	Buenos Aires	
10/6/1907	Uruguay	Copa Newton	ARG 2-1	Montevideo	
8/15/1908	Uruguay	Copa Lipton	TIE 2-2	Montevideo	
9/18/1908	Uruguay	Copa Newton	ARG 2-1	Buenos Aires	
8/15/1909	Uruguay	Copa Lipton	ARG 2-1	Buenos Aires	
9/9/1909	Uruguay	Copa Newton	TIE 2-2	Montevideo	
8/15/1910	Uruguay	Copa Lipton	URU 3-1	Montevideo	No 1910 Copa Newton - institutional strife
8/15/1911	Uruguay	Copa Lipton	URU 2-0	Buenos Aires	
9/17/1911	Uruguay	Copa Newton	ARG 3-2	Montevideo	
8/15/1912	Uruguay	Copa Lipton	URU 2-0	Montevideo	
10/6/1912	Uruguay	Copa Newton	TIE 3-3	Buenos Aires	
8/15/1913	Uruguay	Copa Lipton	ARG 4-0	Buenos Aires	

# APPENDIX B: RÍO DE LA PLATA IN INTERNATIONAL COMPETITION

## NO. 3: ARGENTINE OFFICIAL NATIONAL TEAM GAMES, 1905-1931

<u>Date</u>	<u>Opponent</u>	<u>Competition</u>	<u>Result</u>	<u>Place</u>	<u>Comments</u>
10/26/1913	Uruguay	Copa Newton	URU 1-0	Montevideo	No 1914 Copa Lipton or Copa Newton - institutional strife
9/20/1914	Brazil	Friendly	ARG 3-0	Buenos Aires	
9/27/1914	Brazil	Copa Roca	BRA 1-0	Buenos Aires	
8/15/1915	Uruguay	Copa Lipton	ARG 2-1	Buenos Aires	
9/12/1915	Uruguay	Copa Newton	URU 2-0	Montevideo	
7/6/1916	Chile	Campeonato Sudamericano	ARG 6-1	Buenos Aires	
7/10/1916	Brazil	Campeonato Sudamericano	TIE 1-1	Buenos Aires	
7/17/1916	Uruguay	Campeonato Sudamericano	TIE 0-0	Buenos Aires	
8/15/1916	Uruguay	Copa Lipton	ARG 2-1	Montevideo	
8/15/1916	Uruguay	Copa Newton	ARG 3-1	Buenos Aires	
8/15/1917	Uruguay	Copa Lipton	ARG 1-0	Buenos Aires	
9/2/1917	Uruguay	Copa Newton	URU 1-0	Montevideo	
10/3/1917	Brazil	Campeonato Sudamericano	ARG 4-2	Montevideo	
10/6/1917	Chile	Campeonato Sudamericano	ARG 1-0	Montevideo	
10/14/1917	Uruguay	Campeonato Sudamericano	URU 1-0	Montevideo	No 1918 Camp. Sud. Due to flu epidemic

# APPENDIX B: RÍO DE LA PLATA IN INTERNATIONAL COMPETITION

## NO. 3: ARGENTINE OFFICIAL NATIONAL TEAM GAMES, 1905-1931

<u>Date</u>	<u>Opponent</u>	<u>Competition</u>	<u>Result</u>	<u>Place</u>	<u>Comments</u>
9/20/1918	Uruguay	Copa Lipton	TIE 1-1	Montevideo	
9/29/1918	Uruguay	Copa Newton	ARG 2-0	Buenos Aires	
5/13/1919	Uruguay	Campeonato Sudamericano	URU 3-2	Rio de Janeiro	
5/18/1919	Brazil	Campeonato Sudamericano	BRA 3-1	Rio de Janeiro	
5/22/1919	Chile	Campeonato Sudamericano	ARG 4-1	Rio de Janeiro	
6/1/1919	Brazil	Copa Roberto Cherry	TIE 3-3	Rio de Janeiro	To honor deceased Uruguayan player
8/15/1919	Uruguay	Copa Newton	URU 2-0 or URU 2-1	Montevideo	
9/7/1919	Uruguay	Copa Lipton	URU 2-0 or URU 2-1	Buenos Aires	
7/25/1920	Uruguay	Copa Newton	URU 3-1	Buenos Aires	No Copa Lipton 1920-1921 or 1921 Copa Newton
9/12/1920	Uruguay	Campeonato Sudamericano	TIE 1-1	Santiago	
9/20/1920	Chile	Campeonato Sudamericano	TIE 1-1	Santiago	
9/25/1920	Brazil	Campeonato Sudamericano	ARG 2-0	Viña del Mar	
10/2/1921	Brazil	Campeonato Sudamericano	ARG 1-0	Buenos Aires	
10/16/1921	Paraguay	Campeonato Sudamericano	ARG 3-0	Buenos Aires	
10/30/1921	Uruguay	Campeonato Sudamericano	ARG 1-0	Buenos Aires	
9/28/1922	Chile	Campeonato Sudamericano	ARG 4-0	Rio de Janeiro	

# APPENDIX B: RÍO DE LA PLATA IN INTERNATIONAL COMPETITION

## NO. 3: ARGENTINE OFFICIAL NATIONAL TEAM GAMES, 1905-1931

<u>Date</u>	<u>Opponent</u>	<u>Competition</u>	<u>Result</u>	<u>Place</u>	<u>Comments</u>
10/8/1922	Uruguay	Campeonato Sudamericano	URU 1-0	Rio de Janeiro	
10/15/1922	Brazil	Campeonato Sudamericano	BRA 2-0	Rio de Janeiro	
10/18/1922	Paraguay	Campeonato Sudamericano	ARG 2-0	Rio de Janeiro	
10/22/1922	Brazil	Copa Roca	BRA 2-1	São Paulo	
11/12/1922	Uruguay	Copa Lipton	URU 1-0	Montevideo	
12/17/1922	Uruguay	Copa Newton	TIE 2-2	Buenos Aires	
5/20/1923	Paraguay	Copa Chevalier Boutell	PAR 2-0	Buenos Aires	
5/25/1923	Paraguay	Copa Chevalier Boutell	ARG 1-0	Buenos Aires	
6/24/1923	Uruguay	Copa Lipton	TIE 0-0	Buenos Aires	
10/29/1923	Paraguay	Campeonato Sudamericano	ARG 4-3	Montevideo	
11/18/1923	Brazil	Campeonato Sudamericano	ARG 2-1	Montevideo	
12/2/1923	Brazil	Copa Confraternidad	BRA 2-0	Buenos Aires	Pre-Copa Roca friendly
12/2/1923	Uruguay	Campeonato Sudamericano	URU 2-0	Montevideo	
12/9/1923	Brazil	Copa Roca	ARG 2-0	Buenos Aires	
5/15/1924	Paraguay	Copa Chevalier Boutell	ARG 3-1	Asunción	
5/18/1924	Paraguay	Copa Chevalier Boutell	PAR 2-1	Asunción	
5/25/1924	Uruguay	Copa Newton (for 1923)	URU 2-0	Montevideo	No Copa Lipton 1924-1926 -

# APPENDIX B: RÍO DE LA PLATA IN INTERNATIONAL COMPETITION

## NO. 3: ARGENTINE OFFICIAL NATIONAL TEAM GAMES, 1905-1931

<u>Date</u>	<u>Opponent</u>	<u>Competition</u>	<u>Result</u>	<u>Place</u>	<u>Comments</u>
					institutional strife
5/25/1924	Uruguay	Copa Newton (for 1924)	ARG 4-0	Buenos Aires	No Copa Newton 1925-1926 - institutional strife
9/21/1924	Uruguay	Uruguay post-Olympic match	TIE 1-1	Montevideo	
9/28/1924	Uruguay	Uruguay post-Olympic match	Suspended	Buenos Aires	
10/2/1924	Uruguay	Uruguay post-Olympic match	ARG 2-1	Buenos Aires	
10/12/1924	Paraguay	Campeonato Sudamericano	TIE 0-0	Montevideo	
10/25/1924	Chile	Campeonato Sudamericano	ARG 2-0	Montevideo	
11/2/1924	Uruguay	Campeonato Sudamericano	TIE 0-0	Montevideo	
7/9/1925	Paraguay	Copa Chevalier Boutell	TIE 1-1	Buenos Aires	
7/12/1925	Paraguay	Copa Chevalier Boutell	TIE 1-1	Buenos Aires	
11/29/1925	Paraguay	Campeonato Sudamericano	ARG 2-0	Buenos Aires	
12/13/1925	Brazil	Campeonato Sudamericano	ARG 4-1	Buenos Aires	
12/20/1925	Paraguay	Campeonato Sudamericano	ARG 3-1	Buenos Aires	
12/25/1925	Brazil	Campeonato Sudamericano	TIE 2-2	Buenos Aires	
5/29/1926	Paraguay	Copa Chevalier Boutell	ARG 2-1	Buenos Aires	
6/3/1926	Paraguay	Copa Chevalier Boutell	ARG 2-1	Buenos Aires	

# APPENDIX B: RÍO DE LA PLATA IN INTERNATIONAL COMPETITION

## NO. 3: ARGENTINE OFFICIAL NATIONAL TEAM GAMES, 1905-1931

<u>Date</u>	<u>Opponent</u>	<u>Competition</u>	<u>Result</u>	<u>Place</u>	<u>Comments</u>
10/16/1926	Bolivia	Campeonato Sudamericano	ARG 5-0	Santiago	
10/20/1926	Paraguay	Campeonato Sudamericano	ARG 8-0	Santiago	
10/24/1926	Uruguay	Campeonato Sudamericano	URU 2-0	Santiago	
10/31/1926	Chile	Campeonato Sudamericano	TIE 1-1	Santiago	
7/14/1927	Uruguay	Copa Newton	ARG 1-0	Montevideo	
8/30/1927	Uruguay	Copa Lipton	URU 1-0	Buenos Aires	
10/30/1927	Bolivia	Campeonato Sudamericano	ARG 7-1	Lima	
11/20/1927	Uruguay	Campeonato Sudamericano	ARG 3-2	Lima	
11/27/1927	Peru	Campeonato Sudamericano	ARG 5-1	Lima	
4/1/1928	Portugal	1928 pre-Olympic tour	TIE 0-0	Lisboa	
4/8/1928	Atletico Madrid	1928 pre-Olympic tour	ARG 2-0	Madrid	
4/22/1928	FC Barcelona	1928 pre-Olympic tour	FCB 4-1	Barcelona	
5/29/1928	United States	1928 Olympics	ARG 11-2	Amsterdam	
6/2/1928	Belgium	1928 Olympics	ARG 6-3	Amsterdam	
6/6/1928	Egypt	1928 Olympics	ARG 6-0	Amsterdam	
6/10/1928	Uruguay	1928 Olympics	TIE 0-0	Amsterdam	
6/13/1928	Uruguay	1928 Olympics	URU 2-1	Amsterdam	



# APPENDIX B: RÍO DE LA PLATA IN INTERNATIONAL COMPETITION

## NO. 3: ARGENTINE OFFICIAL NATIONAL TEAM GAMES, 1905-1931

<u>Date</u>	<u>Opponent</u>	<u>Competition</u>	<u>Result</u>	<u>Place</u>	<u>Comments</u>
8/30/1928	Uruguay	Copa Newton	ARG 1-0	Buenos Aires	
9/21/1928	Uruguay	Copa Lipton	TIE 2-2	Montevideo	
9/20/1929	Uruguay	Copa Newton	URU 2-1	Montevideo	
9/28/1929	Uruguay	Copa Lipton	TIE 0-0	Buenos Aires	
11/3/1929	Peru	Campeonato Sudamericano	ARG 3-0	Buenos Aires	
11/10/1929	Paraguay	Campeonato Sudamericano	ARG 4-1	Buenos Aires	
11/11/1929	Uruguay	Campeonato Sudamericano	ARG 2-0	Buenos Aires	
5/25/1930	Uruguay	Copa Newton	TIE 1-1	Buenos Aires	
7/15/1930	France	World Cup	ARG 1-0	Montevideo	
7/19/1930	Mexico	World Cup	ARG 6-3	Montevideo	
7/22/1930	Chile	World Cup	ARG 3-1	Montevideo	
7/26/1930	United States	World Cup	ARG 6-1	Montevideo	
7/30/1930	Uruguay	World Cup	URU 4-2	Montevideo	

# APPENDIX B: RÍO DE LA PLATA IN INTERNATIONAL COMPETITION

## NO. 4: URUGUAYAN TEAMS VS. FOREIGN OPPONENTS, 1911-1931

<u>Uruguayan Team</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Opponent</u>	<u>Result</u>	<u>Place</u>
Uruguay combined	7/9/1911	SC Pelotas	URU 7-0	Pelotas, Brazil
Uruguay combined	7/14/1911	Rio Grande do Sul combined	URU 6-0	Pelotas, Brazil
Uruguay combined	7/16/1911	Grêmio	URU 3-0	Pelotas, Brazil
Uruguay combined	7/18/1911	SC Rio Grande	URU 13-1	Pelotas, Brazil
Uruguay combined	8/9/1911	Paulistano	TIE 3-3	São Paulo
Uruguay combined	8/12/1911	São Paulo FC	TIE 2-2	São Paulo
Uruguay combined	8/13/1911	SC Americano	BRA 3-0	São Paulo
Uruguay combined	8/15/1911	São Paulo combined	TIE 2-2	São Paulo
Uruguay combined	8/20/1911	Fluminense	URU 3-2	Rio de Janeiro
Uruguay combined	8/15/1913	Sport Club Americano (São Paulo)	URU 2-1	Montevideo
Uruguay combined	8/24/1913	Sport Club Americano	URU 2-0	Montevideo
Uruguay combined	8/26/1913	Sport Club Americano	URU 4-2	Montevideo
Dublin Football Club	1/3/1917	América	URU 4-1	Rio de Janeiro
Dublin Football Club	1/7/1917	Brazil combined	TIE 0-0	Rio de Janeiro
Dublin Football Club	1/9/1917	Rio de Janeiro combined	URU 2-1	Rio de Janeiro
Dublin Football Club	1/12/1917	Paulistano	BRA 2-1	São Paulo

# APPENDIX B: RÍO DE LA PLATA IN INTERNATIONAL COMPETITION

## NO. 4: URUGUAYAN TEAMS VS. FOREIGN OPPONENTS, 1911-1931

<u>Uruguayan Team</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Opponent</u>	<u>Result</u>	<u>Place</u>
Dublin Football Club	1/14/1917	São Paulo combined	BRA 5-1	São Paulo
Dublin Football Club	1/19/1917	Santos	URU 5-3	Santos
Dublin Football Club	1/17/1918	Botafogo	URU 3-1	Rio de Janeiro
Dublin Football Club	1/20/1918	Fluminense	TIE 1-1	Rio de Janeiro
Dublin Football Club	1/24/1918	Rio de Janeiro combined	URU 4-3	Rio de Janeiro
Dublin Football Club	1/27/1918	Brazil combined	URU 1-0	Rio de Janeiro
Dublin Football Club	1/30/1918	America-Flamengo combined	URU 2-0	Rio de Janeiro
Dublin Football Club	2/3/1918	São Paulo combined	BRA 1-0	São Paulo
Dublin Football Club	2/5/1918	Santos	URU 2-1	Santos
Uruguay combined	8/27/1922	Teplitzer FK	URU 2-0	Montevideo
Uruguay combined	8/29/1922	Teplitzer FK	URU 5-1	Montevideo
Uruguay combined	9/10/1922	Teplitzer FK	URU 1-0	Montevideo
Uruguay combined	6/19/1923	Third Lanark	Tie 1-1	Montevideo
Peñarol	7/4/1923	Third Lanark	SCO 2-0	Montevideo
Uruguay combined	9/6/1923	Genoa Cricket and Football Club	URU 2-1	Montevideo
Uruguay national team	4/10/1924	Celta de Vigo	URU 3-0	Vigo

# APPENDIX B: RÍO DE LA PLATA IN INTERNATIONAL COMPETITION

## NO. 4: URUGUAYAN TEAMS VS. FOREIGN OPPONENTS, 1911-1931

<u>Uruguayan Team</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Opponent</u>	<u>Result</u>	<u>Place</u>
Uruguay national team	4/13/1924	Celta de Vigo	URU 4-1	Vigo
Uruguay national team	4/20/1924	Athletic Bilbao	URU 2-1	Bilbao
Uruguay national team	4/21/1924	Athletic Bilbao	URU 2-0	Bilbao
Uruguay national team	4/25/1924	Real Sociedad	URU 2-0	San Sebastián
Uruguay national team	5/2/1924	Deportivo La Coruña	URU 2-1 or 3-2	La Coruña
Uruguay national team	5/4/1924	Deportivo La Coruña	URU 2-1	La Coruña
Uruguay national team	5/11/1924	Atlético Madrid	URU 4-2	Madrid
Uruguay national team	5/15/1924	Racing Santander	URU 3-1	Madrid
Uruguay combined	7/4/1924	Plymouth Argyle	ENG 4-0	Montevideo
Uruguay combined	3/8/1925	Palestra Itália (São Paulo)	URU 3-2	Montevideo
Uruguay combined	3/15/1925	Palestra Itália	URU 1-0	Montevideo
Nacional	3/8/1925	Paris combined	URU 3-1	Paris
Nacional	3/15/1925	Normandy combined	URU 5-0	Rouen
Nacional	3/19/1925	France national team	TIE 0-0	Paris
Nacional	3/22/1925	Roubaix combined	URU 7-0	Roubaix
Nacional	3/29/1925	Stade Bordelaise	URU 4-0	Bordeaux

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## NO. 4: URUGUAYAN TEAMS VS. FOREIGN OPPONENTS, 1911-1931

<u>Uruguayan Team</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Opponent</u>	<u>Result</u>	<u>Place</u>
Nacional	4/5/1925	Genova FC	URU 3-0	Genova
Nacional	4/11/1925	Esportiu Europa	ESP 1-0	Barcelona
Nacional	4/12/1925	FC Barcelona	TIE 2-2	Barcelona
Nacional	4/13/1925	Catalunya combined	ESP 2-1	Barcelona
Nacional	4/16/1925	Esportiu Europa	TIE 1-1	Barcelona
Nacional	4/19/1925	Valencia combined	TIE 2-2	Valencia
Nacional	4/23/1925	Manacor FC	URU 13-1	Manacor
Nacional	4/26/1925	Islas Baleares combined	URU 6-0	Palma
Nacional	5/1/1925	Alfonso XII combined	URU 2-1	Palma
Nacional	5/3/1925	Islas Baleares combined	URU 4-1	Palma
Nacional	5/10/1925	Holland national team	URU 7-0	Rotterdam
Nacional	5/14/1925	Sparta Praga	CZE 1-0	Prague
Nacional	5/17/1925	Franco-Swiss combined	URU 3-0	Paris
Nacional	5/17/1925	Bruxelles combined	URU 2-1	Brussels
Nacional	5/21/1925	Liga Alsacia combined	URU 2-1	Strasbourg
Nacional	5/24/1925	Belgium national team	URU 5-1	Brussels

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## NO. 4: URUGUAYAN TEAMS VS. FOREIGN OPPONENTS, 1911-1931

<u>Uruguayan Team</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Opponent</u>	<u>Result</u>	<u>Place</u>
Nacional	5/31/1925	Belgium national team	BEL 2-1	Brussels
Nacional	6/4/1925	France national team	URU 6-0	Paris
Nacional	6/7/1925	Basel combined	URU 5-2	Basel
Nacional	6/11/1925	Vienna combined	TIE 1-1	Vienna
Nacional	6/17/1925	Tirol combined	URU 6-0	Innsbruck
Nacional	6/21/1925	Switzerland national team	URU 5-1	Zurich
Nacional	6/25/1925	Rapid Vienna	URU 2-1	Vienna
Nacional	6/28/1925	Austria national team	URU 2-0	Vienna
Nacional	7/5/1925	Esportiu Europa	ESP 1-0	Barcelona
Nacional	7/9/1925	Unión Esportiva	URU 4-2	Gerona
Nacional	7/12/1925	Catalunya combined	URU 4-0	Barcelona
Nacional	7/16/1925	Oporto combined	URU 7-2	Oporto
Nacional	7/20/1925	Sporting Lisboa	URU 5-0	Lisboa
Nacional	7/26/1925	Oporto combined	URU 5-2	Oporto
Nacional	8/2/1925	Celta Vigo	TIE 2-2	Vigo
Nacional	8/6/1925	Deportivo La Coruña	TIE 0-0	La Coruña

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## NO. 4: URUGUAYAN TEAMS VS. FOREIGN OPPONENTS, 1911-1931

<u>Uruguayan Team</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Opponent</u>	<u>Result</u>	<u>Place</u>
Nacional	8/8/1925	Deportivo La Coruña	URU 3-0	La Coruña
Belgrano	June of 1925	Alianza y Progreso	PER 3-2	Lima
Nacional	12/8/1926	Nacional (Asunción)	URU 3-1	Montevideo
Nacional	7/14/1926	Real Club Deportivo Español (Barcelona)	ESP 1-0	Montevideo
Peñarol	7/18/1926	Real Club Deportivo Español	URU 1-0	Montevideo
Nacional	3/20/1927	Indiana Flooring	URU 6-1	New York City
Nacional	3/26/1927	Brooklyn Wanderers	TIE 2-2	Brooklyn
Nacional	3/27/1927	Newark Skeeters	USA 1-0	Newark
Nacional	4/2/1927	Liga Americana combined	URU 4-2	New York City
Nacional	4/10/1927	Fall River	TIE 1-1	Fall River
Nacional	4/16/1927	Brooklyn Wanderers	TIE 2-0	Brooklyn
Nacional	4/19/1927	Boston combined	*SUSPENDED	Boston
Nacional	4/24/1927	Detroit combined	URU 2-1	Detroit
Nacional	5/1/1927	Cleveland combined	URU 3-0	Cleveland
Nacional	5/8/1927	St. Louis combined	URU 4-1	St. Louis
Nacional	5/15/1927	Sparta (Chicago)	URU 1-0	Chicago

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<u>Uruguayan Team</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Opponent</u>	<u>Result</u>	<u>Place</u>
Nacional	5/22/1927	Bricklayers (Chicago)	USA 3-2	Chicago
Nacional	5/28/1927	Philadelphia combined	URU 4-1	Philadelphia
Nacional	5/30/1927	Brooklyn Wanderers	URU 2-1	Brooklyn
Nacional	6/12/1927	Iberia Fortuna	URU 4-1	Havana
Nacional	6/16/1927	Hispano Juventud Asturiana	SUSPENDED	Havana
Nacional	6/19/1927	Hispano Juventud Asturiana	URU 8-1	Havana
Nacional	6/26/1927	Mexico national team	URU 3-1	Mexico City
Nacional	6/29/1927	Mexico national team	URU 9-0	Mexico City
Nacional	7/3/1927	Real Club España	URU 5-0	Mexico City
Nacional	7/7/1927	Guerra y Marina	URU 4-0	Mexico City
Nacional	7/10/1927	Real Club España	URU 8-1	Mexico City
Peñarol	4/3/1927	Vienna combined	AUS 3-1	Vienna
Peñarol	4/10/1927	Bavaria combined	GER 2-1	Munich
Peñarol	4/15/1927	Hamburg	GER 3-2	Hamburg
Peñarol	4/17/1927	Sport Club Dresden	GER 2-1	Dresden
Peñarol	4/19/1927	Hertha Berlin	GER 1-0	Berlin



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## NO. 4: URUGUAYAN TEAMS VS. FOREIGN OPPONENTS, 1911-1931

<u>Uruguayan Team</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Opponent</u>	<u>Result</u>	<u>Place</u>
Peñarol	4/24/1927	Eintracht Frankfurt	URU 3-1	Frankfurt
Peñarol	5/1/1927	Young Fellows	URU 1-0	Zurich
Peñarol	5/4/1927	Rapid Wien	AUS 5-0	Vienna
Peñarol	5/8/1927	Sparta Prague	CZE 1-0	Prague
Peñarol	5/21/1927	Lausanne-Sports	URU 7-1	Lausanne
Peñarol	5/22/1927	Switzerland combined	TIE 1-1	
Peñarol	5/26/1927	Servette FC	URU 1-0	Geneva
Peñarol	5/29/1927	France combined	TIE 1-1	Paris
Peñarol	6/5/1927	FC Barcelona	ESP 5-1	Barcelona
Peñarol	6/6/1927	FC Barcelona	TIE 1-1	Barcelona
Peñarol	6/12/1927	Atlético Madrid	URU 5-2	Madrid
Peñarol	6/15/1927	Atlético Madrid	URU 4-3	Madrid
Peñarol	6/19/1927	Valencia	TIE 0-0	Valencia
Peñarol	6/22/1927	Valencia	URU 2-1	Valencia
Uruguay combined	7/4/1927	Colo Colo (Chile)	URU 5-1	Montevideo
Uruguay combined	7/7/1927	Colo Colo	URU 4-0	Montevideo

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## NO. 4: URUGUAYAN TEAMS VS. FOREIGN OPPONENTS, 1911-1931

<u>Uruguayan Team</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Opponent</u>	<u>Result</u>	<u>Place</u>
Peñarol	7/10/1927	Colo Colo	URU 6-1	Montevideo
Peñarol	7/24/1927	Real Madrid	TIE 0-0	Montevideo
Uruguay combined	7/19/1928	Celta de Vigo	URU 6-1	Montevideo
Uruguay combined	7/23/1928	Celta de Vigo	URU 2-0	Montevideo
Peñarol	6/10/1928	Motherwell	MW 1-0	Montevideo
Peñarol	6/14/1928	Motherwell	URU 2-1	Montevideo
Peñarol	8/26/1928	FC Barcelona	TIE 1-1	Montevideo
Nacional	9/1/1928	FC Barcelona	URU 3-0	Montevideo
Rampla Juniors	February of 1929	Rio de Janeiro combined	URU 4-1	Rio de Janeiro
Rampla Juniors	February of 1929	São Paulo combined	TIE 2-2	São Paulo
Rampla Juniors	2/24/1929	Brazil combined	BRA 4-2	
Rampla Juniors	3/17/1929	Catalunya combined	ESP 3-0	Madrid
Rampla Juniors	3/19/1929	Atlético Madrid	URU 1-0	Madrid
Rampla Juniors	3/25/1929	Valencia	URU 4-2	Valencia
Rampla Juniors	4/1/1929	Real Club Deportivo Español	ESP 1-0	Barcelona
Rampla Juniors	April of 1929	Sport Verein Munich	TIE 2-2	Munich

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## NO. 4: URUGUAYAN TEAMS VS. FOREIGN OPPONENTS, 1911-1931

<u>Uruguayan Team</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Opponent</u>	<u>Result</u>	<u>Place</u>
Rampla Juniors	April of 1929	Schalke 1904	URU 5-1	Gelsenkirchen
Rampla Juniors	4/21/1929	Borussia Tennis	URU 1-0	Berlin
Rampla Juniors	4/24/1929	Hamburg	GER 4-2	Hamburg
Rampla Juniors	April of 1929	Frankfurt Sport Verein	URU 3-1	Frankfurt
Rampla Juniors	5/1/1929	Red Star, Racing, Sportive Francaise comb.	URU 3-1	Paris
Rampla Juniors	5/5/1929	Marseille	URU 3-0	Marseille
Rampla Juniors	May of 1929	Athletic El Havre	URU 4-0	El Havre
Rampla Juniors	5/9/1929	Ajax	URU 2-1	Amsterdam
Rampla Juniors	May of 1929	Worwaarts	URU 4-2	The Hague
Rampla Juniors	5/16/1929	Wilhelm	URU 1-0	Tilburg
Rampla Juniors	5/25/1929	Real Betis	URU 4-0	Sevilla
Rampla Juniors	5/27/1929	Sevilla	TIE 2-2	Sevilla
Rampla Juniors	5/30/1929	Sevilla	ESP 1-0	Sevilla
Rampla Juniors	6/1/1929	Benfica	URU 3-1	Lisboa
Rampla Juniors	6/23/1929	São Paulo combined	BRA 1-0	São Paulo
Peñarol	3/10/1929	America (Brazil)	TIE 1-1	Montevideo

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<u>Uruguayan Team</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Opponent</u>	<u>Result</u>	<u>Place</u>
Peñarol	6/9/1929	Chelsea	URU 2-1	Montevideo
Wanderers	6/23/1929	Chelsea	ENG 1-0	Montevideo
Uruguay combined	7/21/1929	Ferencvaros	HUN 3-2	Montevideo
Uruguay combined	7/28/1929	Ferencvaros	URU 3-0	Montevideo
Peñarol	9/1/1929	Torino	TIE 1-1	Montevideo
Peñarol	11/22/1929	Paraguayan national team		Montevideo
Peñarol	8/20/1930	Hakoah All-Stars	TIE 0-0	Montevideo
Bella Vista	12/8/1930	Colo-Colo	URU 2-1	Santiago
Bella Vista	12/9/1930	Everton	URU 2-1	Valparaíso
Bella Vista	12/16/1930	Colo-Colo	CHI 3-2	Santiago
Bella Vista	12/17/1930	Antofagasta region combined	URU 5-1	Antofagasta
Bella Vista	12/23/1930	Alianza Lima	TIE 1-1	Lima
Bella Vista	12/25/1930	Universidad de Lima	PER 2-1	Lima
Bella Vista	12/28/1930	Atlético Chalaco	TIE 0-0	Lima
Bella Vista	1/1/1931	Alianza Lima	TIE 2-2	Lima
Bella Vista	1/4/1931	Arequipa combined	URU 2-1	Arequipa

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## NO. 4: URUGUAYAN TEAMS VS. FOREIGN OPPONENTS, 1911-1931

<u>Uruguayan Team</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Opponent</u>	<u>Result</u>	<u>Place</u>
Bella Vista	1/8/1931	Perú combined	URU 2-1	Lima
Bella Vista	1/11/1931	Atlético Chalaco	URU 1-0	Lima
Bella Vista	1/15/1931	FCB Aurora	URU 1-0	Lima
Bella Vista	1/25/1931	Real Iberia	URU 3-1	Havana
Bella Vista	1/28/1931	Olimpia	TIE 1-1	Havana
Bella Vista	2/1/1931	Juventud Asturiana	URU 2-1	Havana
Bella Vista	2/15/1931	Marte	URU 4-2	Mexico City
Bella Vista	2/22/1931	Necaxa	URU 3-1	Mexico City
Bella Vista	3/3/1931	América	URU 3-1	Mexico City
Bella Vista	3/8/1931	Atlante	MEX 3-2	Mexico City
Bella Vista	3/12/1931	Atlante	URU 6-0	Mexico City
Bella Vista	3/16/1931	Atlante	URU 3-1	Mexico City
Bella Vista	3/22/1931	Real España	URU 8-0	Mexico City
Bella Vista	3/28/1931	Marte	MEX 7-3	Mexico City
Bella Vista	3/29/1931	América	URU 5-1	Mexico City
Bella Vista	4/2/1931	Hakoah All-Stars	URU 2-1	New York City

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## NO. 4: URUGUAYAN TEAMS VS. FOREIGN OPPONENTS, 1911-1931

<u>Uruguayan Team</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Opponent</u>	<u>Result</u>	<u>Place</u>
Bella Vista	4/16/1931	Rio de Janeiro combined	BRA 2-1	Rio de Janeiro
Bella Vista	4/18/1931	São Paulo combined	URU 3-1	São Paulo
Bella Vista	4/24/1931	Santos	BRA 2-1	Santos
Bella Vista	4/26/1931	Palestra Itália	TIE 1-1	Rio de Janeiro
Sud América	3/15/1931	Rio de Janeiro combined	URU 3-0	Rio de Janeiro
Sud América	3/22/1931	Rio de Janeiro combined	BRA 3-2	Rio de Janeiro
Sud América	3/24/1931	Vasco da Gama	BRA 4-2	Rio de Janeiro
Sud América	3/27/1931	Minas Gerais combined	TIE 1-1	Belo Horizonte
Sud América	3/29/1931	Atlético Mineiro	BRA 3-2	Belo Horizonte
Sud América	3/31/1931	Santos	BRA 5-0	Santos
Sud América	4/9/1931	Botafogo	TIE 1-1	Rio de Janeiro
Sud América	4/15/1931	Esporte Clube Bahia	URU 5-1	Salvador
Sud América	4/17/1931	Royal FC	URU 1-0	Salvador
Sud América	4/19/1931	Bahia combined	BRA 2-0	Salvador
Sud América	4/22/1931	Esporte Clube Ypiranga	TIE 2-2	Salvador
Sud América	4/25/1931	Ypiranga Futebol Clube	URU 5-3	Niterói

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### C. Archives and Libraries

Archivo Histórico de la Provincia de Tucumán

Archivo Histórico de Santiago del Estero

Biblioteca Alberdi – Club Atlético Boca Juniors (Buenos Aires)

Biblioteca de la Asociación del Fútbol Argentino (Buenos Aires)

Biblioteca del Congreso (Buenos Aires)

Biblioteca Juan B. Justo (Buenos Aires)

Biblioteca de la Legislatura de la Ciudad de Buenos Aires

Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina (Buenos Aires)

Biblioteca Sarmiento (Santiago del Estero)

Biblioteca Tornquist (Buenos Aires)

Biblioteca 9 de julio (Santiago del Estero)

Círculo de Periodistas Deportivas (Buenos Aires)

Club Atlético Mitre (Santiago del Estero)

Hemeroteca de *El Liberal* (Santiago del Estero)

Hemeroteca de *La Gaceta* (Tucumán)

Hemeroteca de la Legislatura de la Ciudad de Buenos Aires

Hemeroteca del Poder Legislativo de la Provincia de Córdoba

Museo Histórico de la Provincia de Santiago del Estero

Princeton University Manuscripts Division – Bernardo Canal Feijóo Correspondence

#### D. Archival Sources

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#### E. Periodicals

##### 1. Newspapers and Other Dailies

*ABC* (Madrid)

*La Acción* (Rosario)



*La Argentina*

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*Crítica*

*La Época*

*La Gaceta* (Tucumán)

*El Gráfico*

*El Liberal* (Santiago del Estero)

*El Litoral* (Santa Fe)

*La Mañana*

*El Mundo*

*Mundo Deportivo* (Barcelona)

*La Nación*

*El Orden* (Tucumán)

*La Prensa*

*Los Principios* (Córdoba)

*El Pueblo* (Santiago del Estero)

*La Razón*

*La República*

*Santa Fe* (Santa Fe)

*Santiago* (Santiago del Estero)

*El Siglo* (Santiago del Estero)

*The Standard*

*La Vanguardia*

*La Vanguardia* (Barcelona)

*La Voz del Interior* (Córdoba)

2. Magazines, Weeklies, and Bi-Weeklies

*Añatuya Deportiva y Social* (Añatuya, Santiago del Estero)

*La Cancha*

*Caras y Caretas*

*Crítica: Sociología, arte, educación* (Añatuya, Santiago del Estero)

*Democracia: Literaria, social y deportiva* (Añatuya, Santiago del Estero)

*Disipando Sombras* (Los Copos, Santiago del Estero)

*El Hogar*

*La Idea: Revista quincenal* (Frías, Santiago del Estero)

*La Ilustración Deportiva*

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